

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC

DANIEL R. GOODLOE

LIBRARY
Coast Artillery School



Classification

E21

G62

Accession Number

51186

PROPERTY OF U. S. Donated By

C. A. School, Ft. Monroe, Va., 9-18-23-5000

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA

THE
BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC

COMPILED FROM THE

*National and Colonial Histories and Historical Collections,
from the American Archives and from Memoirs,
and from the Journals and Proceedings
of the British Parliament*

BY

DANIEL R. GOODLOE

CONTAINING

THE RESOLUTIONS, DECLARATIONS, AND ADDRESSES ADOPTED BY THE CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS, THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES, CONVENTIONS AND ASSEMBLIES,
OF THE COUNTY AND TOWN MEETINGS, AND THE COMMITTEES OF
SAFETY, IN ALL THE COLONIES, FROM THE YEAR 1765 TO 1776

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, A HISTORY OF THE FORMATION AND ADOPTION
OF THE CONSTITUTION, THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, HIS
INAUGURATION, APRIL 30, 1789, A COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION,
AND WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

LIBRARY

OF THE

CHICAGO, NEW YORK, AND SAN FRANCISCO
BELFORD, CLARKE AND COMPANY

PUBLISHERS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

M
E211
G62

Copyright, 1889,
BY
DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

YRA9811
YR3LITRA T2A00
.J00H02

~~51186~~

INTRODUCTION.

THAT the American Colonies were destined to become independent of Great Britain, and that the occurrence of the event was only a question of time, was foreseen nearly a century before it came to pass. Lord Mansfield, in his speech in the House of Lords, on the Duke of Grafton's motion for an address to the King, November 15, 1775, makes this fact clear by the following statement, which at the same time exhibits the shop-keeping narrowness and illiberality of his own mind. He says:

"The bad consequences of planting Northern Colonies were early predicted. Sir Josiah Child foretold, before the Revolution [the English Revolution of 1688-'89], that they would, in the end, prove our rivals in power, commerce, and manufactures. Davenant, adopting the same ideas, foresaw what has since happened: he foresaw that, whenever America found herself of sufficient strength to contend with the mother-country, she would endeavor to form herself into a separate and independent State. This has been the constant object of New England almost from her earliest infancy. Their struggles in the reign of King William compelled that Prince to recall their former charter and give them a new one, and, towards the conclusion of his reign, to get an act passed that no law enacted in the Colonies should be valid, if contrary to any law at the time existing in England. Those disputes scarce subsided from that day to this. I remember, in 1733, Mr. Talbot (afterwards counsellor) proposed a set of Resolutions, in the House of Commons, in which the nature of the disputes then subsisting were directly pointed at, and similar doctrines to those maintained at present by the British Parliament fully asserted."

This citation from the speech of Lord Mansfield demonstrates the truth that a man may be a great lawyer, and at the same time be a very narrow-minded statesman—that he may be profoundly learned in the laws, and be pre-eminently fitted to expound them, without having the slightest qualification to make laws. Here, to the westward of the Atlantic Ocean, lay a continent all untilled, and almost unpeopled. Lord Mansfield would have suffered it to remain in a state

NO. 102

Mar-22

of perpetual barbarism, and have doomed his countrymen at home for all time to all the inconveniences of an overcrowded, starving condition, for fear that at some remote day the colonists of the New World might assert their independence and become the commercial and manufacturing rivals of Great Britain. His legal lore and training failed to convey to his mind the thought that the growth of the Colonies in wealth and population, and the development of commerce and manufactures among them, must redound to the advantage of the mother-country. And beyond the consideration of profit to Great Britain, he seems never to have permitted his wandering thoughts to stray; but, with the genuine shop-keeping dread of competition, he would have suffered half the earth to go unpeopled lest he might inadvertently raise up a commercial rival to his own little island.

In the same speech, his lordship goes on to say:

"I do not think that America complains of particular injuries, so much as she does of the violation of her rights. If I do not mistake, in one place the Congress sum up the whole of their grievances in the passage of the Declaratory Act, which asserts the supremacy of Great Britain, or the power of making laws for America in all cases whatsoever. This is the true bone of contention. They positively deny the right, not the mode of exercising it. They would allow the King of Great Britain a nominal sovereignty over them, but nothing else. They would throw off the dependency on the Crown of Great Britain, but not on the person of the King, whom they would render a cipher. In fine, they would stand in relation to Great Britain as Hanover now stands, or, more properly speaking, as Scotland stood towards England previous to the treaty of Union. His lordship then went into a variety of detailed reasonings to show that the views of America were directed to independence; that Great Britain could not concede without relinquishing the whole, which he supposed was not intended; and that, consequently, any measure of conciliation, in the present situation of affairs and the declared intentions of America, would answer no end but furnishing her with grounds to erect new claims on, or to hold out terms of pretended obedience and submission."

It is not true, as stated by Lord Mansfield, that America aimed at independence; and of the contrary truth an abundance of evidence is furnished in this compilation. That the tendency of events was necessarily towards independence, will be conceded: but, on the other hand, the question arises as to which party was giving the greatest momentum to that tendency; and the answer to the question will depend upon the bias of the mind. To all men who sympathize with our ancestors in their struggle for liberty and independence, it is clear that the short-sighted

selfishness and arbitrary pride of spirit of the British Tories precipitated the war, and made a Declaration of Independence a necessary measure of defence. To the man of Tory sympathies, it is equally clear that the Declaration of Independence was premeditated and planned by ambitious demagogues, who took that method of getting the control of affairs into their own hands.

But the objection to this latter statement is that the hazards were too great to be encountered by demagogues, for the sake of office. Demagogues, by their very nature, as the term implies, are a pliant, accommodating race; and are prone to yield to circumstances, rather than conquer them. It has been well said that the same elements of character which constitute the demagogues in a popular government enter into and make up the courtier under a monarchy. The men who led our armies to victory during the Revolution, and who framed our free constitutions and laws, were, many of them, foremost in the esteem of the rulers of Great Britain before they thought of resistance. All the older officers of the army had served with honor under the King, and their names were held in high respect at court. Franklin was Postmaster-general of the Colonies; and hundreds besides him were in high favor as civilians. They had therefore no occasion to revolt and set up a new form of government in order to secure the offices. By their heroic self-sacrifice, by their courage and perseverance in what for years seemed an almost hopeless enterprise, and by the wisdom displayed on the tented field and in the council, they gained, among friends and foes the world over, the highest reputation for virtue. The idea of such men being actuated by a low ambition to secure places for themselves is therefore simply preposterous.

It is undoubtedly true that the government of Great Britain practised great injustice towards the Colonists by sending over profligate younger sons and the abandoned minions of the courtiers to fill the high offices; but bad as this system was, it was not the direct cause of the Revolution. It certainly tended to produce revolt, by interposing, between the mother-country and the Colonies, a class of pimps and spies, whose policy it was to make themselves acceptable at home by misrepresenting the state of things in America, and by favoring every arbitrary measure of ministry. But it was those arbitrary measures that produced the rupture; and not the unworthy instruments of administration.

America made a successful rebellion at a time when the population was not above three millions. How idle the notion, then, that Great Britain could continue long to rule these colonies, inhabited by a free, energetic race which doubles in number four times in a century!

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE STAMP ACT—THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF 1765.

THE following account of the Continental Convention of 1765, which met in New York, is from the fifth volume of "Bancroft's History of the United States:"

"On Monday, the 7th of October, delegates chosen by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina; delegates named by a written requisition from the individual representatives of Delaware and New Jersey; and the legislative Committee of Correspondence of New York,—met at New York in Congress. New Hampshire, though not present by deputy, yet agreed to abide by the result; and they were gladdened during this session by the arrival of the express-messenger from Georgia, sent near a thousand miles by land, to obtain a copy of their proceedings."

It is proper to explain, in this place, that North Carolina was not represented in this general congress of the Colonies, for the reason that the Assembly was not in session at any time after the proposition of Massachusetts to call such a body. Rumors having reached the province in the spring, that the Stamp Act had been passed by Parliament and approved by the King, the same spirit of opposition to its enforcement was manifested in all the principal towns of North Carolina that had been exhibited in the northern Colonies; and this caused the Lieutenant-governor, Tryon, to prorogue the Assembly from May until November, lest that body might give expression to the popular feeling, as it undoubtedly would have done. See "Martin's History of North Carolina," vol. 2, pages 193 and 195.

Mr. Bancroft continues:

"The members of this first union of the American people were elected by the representatives of the people of each separate Colony. While they formed one body, their power was derived from independent sources. Each of the Colonies

existed in its individuality; and notwithstanding great differences in their respective population and extent of territory, as they met in Congress they recognized each other as equals," without the least claim of pre-eminence, one over the other.

"The Congress entered directly on the consideration of the safest groundwork on which to vest the collective American liberties. Should they build on charters, or on material justice? on precedents and fact or abstract truth? on special privileges or universal reason? Otis was instructed by Boston to support, not only the liberty of the Colonies, but also chartered rights. Johnson, of Connecticut, submitted a paper, which pleaded charters from the Crown, but Robert R. Livingston, of New York, 'the goodness of whose heart set him above prejudices, and equally comprehended all mankind,' would not place the hope of America on that foundation; and Gadsden, of South Carolina, giving utterance to the warm impulses of a brave and noble nature, spoke against it with irresistible impetuosity. 'A confirmation of our essential and common rights as Englishmen,' thus he himself reports his sentiments, 'may be pleaded from charters safely enough; but any further dependence upon them may be fatal. We should stand upon the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men, and as descendants of Englishmen. I wish the charters may not ensnare us at last, by drawing different Colonies to act differently in this cause. Whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent, but all of us Americans.'

"These views prevailed; and in the proceedings of the Congress, the argument for American liberty from royal grants was avoided. This is the first great step toward independence. Dummer had pleaded for Colony charters; Livingston, Gadsden, and the Congress of 1765 provided for American's self-existence and union by claiming rights that preceded charters, and would survive their views.

"And how far would that Union extend? What nations would be included in the name of Americans? The members of that Congress believed themselves responsible for the liberties of the continent; and even while they were deliberating, the vast prairies of Illinois, the great eastern valley of the Mississippi, with all its rivers gushing from the Alleghanies, with all its boundless primeval forests spreading from the mountain tops to the alluvial margin of the mighty stream, with all its solitudes, in which futurity would summon the eager millions of so many tongues to build happy homes, passed from the sway of France into the temporary custody of England.

*

*

*

*

*

✽

"The conduct of America was regulated by the Congress at New York. Those who compose it, said Gage, are of various characters and opinions; but in general, the spirit of democracy is strong among them, supporting the independence of the provinces as not subject to the legislative power of Great Britain. The question is not of the inexpediency of the Stamp Act, but that it is unconstitutional, and contrary to their rights." No Colony was better represented than South Carolina. Her delegation gave a chief or two of the three great committees, and in all that was done well, her mind visibly appeared.

"The difficult task of defining the rights and 'setting forth the liberty' which America 'ought to enjoy,' led the Assembly to debate for two weeks on 'liberty, privileges, and prerogative.' In these debates, Otis, of Boston, himself the father of the Congress, displayed great knowledge of the interests of America, and assisted to kindle the fires which afterwards lighted the country on to freedom.

"It was proposed to 'insist upon a repeal of all acts laying duties on trade, as well as the Stamp Act.' 'If we do not make an explicit acknowledgment of the power of Britain to regulate our trade,' said the too gentle Livingston, 'she will never give up the point of internal taxation.' But he was combatted with great heat, till at last the Congress, by the hand of Rutledge, of South Carolina, erased from the declaration of rights the unguarded concession; and the restrictions on American commerce, though practically acquiesced in, were enumerated as grievances.

"Still Gadsden and Lynch were not satisfied. With vigorous dialectics, they proceeded, from a denial of the power of Parliament in America, to deny the propriety of approaching either House with a petition. 'The House of Commons,' reasoned Gadsden, with the persevering earnestness of conviction, 'refused to receive the addresses of the Colonies when the matter was pending; besides, we neither hold our rights from them nor from the Lords.' But yielding to the majority, Gadsden suppressed his opposition; 'for,' said he, 'union is most certainly all in all.'

"The carefully considered documents in which the Congress embodied the demands of America, dwell mainly on the inherent right to trial by jury, in opposition to the extension of the admiralty jurisdiction, and the right to freedom from taxation, except through the respective Colonial legislatures. These were promulgated in the Declaratory Resolutions, with the further assertion that the people of the Colonies not only are not, but, from their local circumstances, never can be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain; that taxes never have been, nor never can be, constitutionally imposed on the Colonies but by their respective legislatures; that all supplies to the Crown are

free gifts; and that for the people of Great Britain to grant the property of the Colonists was neither reasonable nor consistent with the principles, nor with the spirit, of the British Constitution. The same immunities were claimed in the Address to the King, as 'essential principles, inherent rights and liberties,' of which the security was necessary to the 'most effectual connection of America with the British empire.' They also formed the theme of the Memorial to the House of Lords, mingled with complaints of the 'late restrictions on trade.'

"Having thus insisted on their rights in strong terms, the Congress purposely employed a different style in the address to the House of Commons, insisting chiefly on the disadvantages the new measure might occasion, as well to the mother-country as to the Colonies. They disclaimed for America the 'impracticable' idea of representation in any but American legislatures. Acknowledging 'all due subordination to the Parliament of Great Britain,' and extolling the 'English Constitution as the most perfect form of government,' the source of 'all their civil and religious liberties,' they argued that, in reason and sound policy, there exists a material distinction between the exercise of a Parliamentary jurisdiction in general acts of legislation for the amendment of the common law or the regulation of trade through the whole empire, and the exercise of that jurisdiction by imposing taxes on the Colonies from which they therefore entreated to be relieved.

"While the Congress were still anxiously engaged in weighing eachword and phrase they were to adopt, it was rumored that a ship laden with stamps had arrived.

"On the morning of the 25th [October], the anniversary of the accession of George III., the Congress assembled for the last time, and the delegates of six Colonies, being empowered to do so,—namely, all the delegates from Massachusetts, except Ruggles; all from New Jersey, except Ogden; all those of Rhode Island; all of Pennsylvania, excepting Dickinson, who was absent, but adhered; all of Delaware; and all of Maryland; with the virtual assent of New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, South Carolina, and Georgia,—set their hands to the papers, by which the Colonies became, as they expressed it, 'a bundle of sticks, which could neither be bent nor broken.'"

To the foregoing general account of the proceedings of the Congress, given by Mr. Bancroft, it is deemed proper to annex the following Declaration of Rights, which may be found in "Burke's History of Virginia:"

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

"THE members of this Congress, sincerely devoted with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to his Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed with a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British Colonies on this continent, having considered as maturely as time will permit the circumstances of said Colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the Colonists and of the grievances under which they labor by reason of several late acts of Parliament:

"I. That his Majesty's subjects in these Colonies owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain.

"II. That his Majestys' liege subjects in these Colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural-born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

"III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

"IV. That the people of these Colonies are not, and, from their local circumstances, cannot be, represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain.

"V. That the only representatives of the people of these Colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by their own respective legislatures.

"VI. That all supplies to the Crown, being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British Constitution for the people of Great Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of the Colonists.

"VII. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these Colonies.

"VIII. That the late act of Parliament entitled "An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British Colonies and Plantations, in America," etc., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these Colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the Colonists.

"IX. That the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these Colonies,

will be extremely burthensome and grievous, and, from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

"X. That as the profits of the trade of these Colonies ultimately centre in Great Britain to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the Crown.

"XI. That the restrictions imposed by several acts of Parliament, on the trade of these Colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

"XII. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these Colonies depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

"XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these Colonies to petition the King or either House of Parliament.

"Lastly, that it is the indispensable duty of these Colonies, to the best of sovereigns, to the mother-country, and to themselves, to endeavor, by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty and humble applications to both Houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the Act for Granting and Applying Certain Stamp Duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament whereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American Commerce."

The Congress sent addresses to the King and to the House of Commons, which endeavor by argument and persuasion, rather than remonstrance, to induce a repeal of the obnoxious acts of Parliament.

Mr. Bancroft has explained that the action of this Congress was signed and approved by delegates from only six Colonies, the other delegates present not having authority; and it may be added that Virginia and North Carolina were not represented because their Assemblies were not in session.

MR. PITT'S SPEECH ON THE STAMP ACT.

At the meeting of Parliament in January, 1766, the new administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, which had recently succeeded that of Grenville, exhibited signs of receding from the policy of the Stamp Act, and several members spoke in manly strains in behalf of the rights of the Colonists. Among these was the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham. His health was very feeble, and for a long time he had not appeared in the House; but on this occasion he said to his friends: "My resolution is taken, and, if I can crawl or be carried, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." In reply to the argument

of the friends of the Ministry in favor of the right and duty of imposing a tax on America, he said:

"I speak not with respect to parties: I stand upon this place single, unsolicited, and unconnected. As to the late Ministry," turning scornfully towards Grenville, "every capital measure they have taken is entirely wrong. To the present Ministry, to those at least whom I have in my eye," looking at Conway and the Lords of the Treasury, "I have no objection. Their characters are fair. But, pardon me, gentlemen, youth is the season of credulity; confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom. By comparing even^{ts} with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I discover the traces [referring to the Duke of New Castle] of over-ruling influences.

"It is a long time," he continued, "since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the House, to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to be carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I must beg indulgence to speak of it with freedom. The subject of this debate is of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House, that subject only excepted when nearly a century ago, it was a question whether you yourselves were to be bond or free. The manner in which this affair will be terminated will decide the judgment of posterity on the glory of this kingdom, and the wisdom of its government, during the present reign.

"As my health and life are so very infirm and precarious that I may not be able to attend on the day that may be fixed by the House for the consideration of America, I must now, though somewhat unseasonably, leaving the expediency of the Stamp Act to another time, speak to a point of infinite moment, I mean, to the right. Some seem to have considered it as a point of honor, and leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead us to destruction. On a question that may mortally wound the freedom of three millions of brave and virtuous subjects beyond the Atlantic Ocean, being neither really nor virtually represented in Westminster, cannot be held legally, or constitutionally, or reasonably subject to obedience to any money bill of this kingdom. The Colonies are equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by the laws; and equally participative of the Constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England! As subjects, they are entitled to, the common right of representation, and cannot be bound to pay

taxes without their consent. Taxation is no part of the governing power. The taxes,—a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty—what, our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms.

“There is an idea in some that the Colonies are virtually represented in this House. They never have been represented at all in Parliament; they were not even virtually represented at the time when this law, as captious as it is iniquitous, was passed to deprive them of the most inestimable of their privileges. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here! Is he represented by any knight of a shire in any county of this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number. Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough? A borough which perhaps no man ever saw. This is what is called the rotten part of the Constitution. *It cannot endure the century! If it does not drop, it must be amputated.* The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man. It does not deserve a serious refutation.

“The commons of America, represented in their several Assemblies, have ever been in the possession of the exercise of this their Constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it.

“And how is the right of taxing the Colonies internally compatible with that of framing regulations, without number, for their trade? The laws of this kind which Parliament is daily making prove that they form a body separate from Great Britain. While you hold their manufactures in the most servile restraint, will you add a new tax to deprive them of the last remnants of their liberty? This would be to plunge them into the most odious slavery, against which their charters should protect them.

“I never shall own the justice of taxing America internally until she enjoys the right of representation.” See American Archives.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to claim for Great Britain the right to regulate the external trade of the Colonists, and to prohibit manufacturing—a doctrine not at all consistent with the generous sentiments above quoted. In reply to Grenville, he again rose, and said:

“Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me; it is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the

gentleman who calumniates it might and ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentlemen tells us America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. [At the word says Bancroft, the whole House started as though their hands had been joined and an electric spark had darted through them all.]

“I rejoice that America has resisted. If its millions of inhabitants had submitted, taxes would soon have been laid on Ireland; and if ever this nation should have a tyrant for its king, six millions of freemen so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. . . .

“The profits of Great Britain, from the trade of the Colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year three-score years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection.”

THE STAMP ACT.

The Stamp Act was approved by commission, the King being ill, on the 22d March, 1765. When the news of its passage arrived in America, it everywhere awakened a spirit of resentment and indignation. The Virginia House of Burgesses was the first legislative body that took notice of it; and although the resolutions adopted in May are temperate and cautious, they called forth denunciation of treason from the Tories against Patrick Henry, their author, and gave to that celebrated orator a splendid opportunity for the display of his wonderful eloquence. But on another page a more full and detailed account is given of the proceedings with reference to the Stamp Act, in Virginia. Its title was “An act for granting and applying stamp duties, and other duties, in the British Colonies and Plantations in America.” It required that all legal pleadings, whether in the courts of law or equity, or in the courts of probate or Admiralty Court, should be written upon a stamped piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, the stamp varying in cost with the importance or value of the instrument. All bills of lading, clearances, and such like instruments, must be on stamped vellum or paper. In a word, all sorts of legal instruments—such as deeds, conveyances, wills, bonds, commissions to persons appointed to office, and whatever writing that had any legal character—must pay the stamp duty. The act had its origin in the following circular letter from the English secretary for the Colonies:

“Earl of Halifax to his Majesty’s Governors in North

America. To his Majesty's Governors in North America and the West Indian Islands:

"SIRS: The House of Commons having, in the last session of Parliament, come to a resolution by which it is declared that, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British Colonies and Plantations in America, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said Colonies and Plantations in America, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should transmit to me, without delay, a list of all instruments made use of in public transactions,—law proceedings, grants, conveyances, securities of land or money,—within your government, with proper and sufficient descriptions of the same, in order that, if Parliament should think proper to pursue the intention of the aforesaid resolution, they may thereby be enabled to carry it into execution in the most effectual and least burthensome manner.

"If you should be unable, of yourself, to prepare a list of this kind with sufficient accuracy, you will in such case require the assistance of his Majesty's Attorney-general, or the principal law officers of the Crown within your government who are the proper persons to be consulted, towards procuring the said information in the manner required.

"I am, etc.,

"DUNK HALIFAX."

"ST. JAMES', 11th August, 1764.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Massachusetts, the Governor, in his message at the opening of the Assembly, made no allusion to the Stamp Act, but, says the historian Barry, "the House was not daunted," and, at the instance of Otis, voted at once that it was expedient there should be a "meeting, as soon as convenient, of committees from the Houses in the several Colonies, to consult together on their present circumstances, and the difficulties to which they were and must be reduced by the operation of the late acts of Parliament." This meeting was proposed to be held on the first Tuesday of October; and circular-letters were drawn up to be sent as far south as South Carolina. The opposition of the Governor and of Mr. Hutchinson could not check these proceedings; and they were compelled to acquiesce in them with the best grace they could. Andrew Oliver, a brother-in-law of Hutchinson, who was then a chief justice, was appointed stamp-distributor for Massachusetts; and immediately, we are told, "the decree seemed to go forth that Boston should lead the way in the work of compulsion." The accession of William Pitt to office in July was hailed with tumultuous shouts of joy by the "Sons of Liberty," and gave a new impulse to the spirit of

rebellion against the obnoxious law. "It was at once concerted, therefore," says Barry, "to hang in effigy the obnoxious distributor of stamps; and on the morning of Wednesday, the 14th of August, the inhabitants of the southernly part of the town, as they passed to their business, saw, suspended from the out-stretched limb of a majestic elm long known as the 'Liberty Tree,' an effigy of Oliver, tricked out with the emblems of Bute and Grenville. The news spread like wildfire; and thousands collected to gaze on the spectacle. Hutchinson, as the chief justice, ordered the sheriff to remove the images; but the people interfered, expressing their determination to have them remain until evening. Governor Bernard summoned his Council to meet in the afternoon: but what could they do? A majority was opposed to taking any action; and the minority was compelled to submit.

"Toward evening the excitement increased; and the images were taken down, placed upon a bier, supported in procession by six men, and followed by an amazing multitude through the streets to the Town-house. Here the crowd paused directly under the Council-chamber, and shouted, at the top of their voices, 'Liberty, property, and no stamps.' Three cheers were then given; and the crowd moved on to Kelby Street, to Oliver's Dock, where a building was demolished, which, it was supposed, had been erected for a stamp office. The fragments of this building were carried to Fort Hill, and a bonfire was made of them in front of Oliver's house, upon which the images were burned.

"The spirit of resistance was fully aroused, and the cry of the South was echoed at the North. 'The Stamp Act shall never be executed here,' was the determination of the people. 'All the power of Great Britain shall not compel us to submit to it. We will die on the place first. We will spend our last blood in the cause. The man who offers a stamped paper to sell will be immediately killed.' It was to no purpose that Hutchinson directed an alarm to be sounded, and the military to be mustered; for 'the drummers were in the mob.' Nor did his appearance in person, with the sheriff at his heels, cause the crowd to disperse. 'Stand by' was the watchword; and the baffled chief justice was compelled to flee. An hour before midnight, the throng repaired to the residence of the Governor, and, after three cheers, quietly dispersed.

"The next day (August 15th), a proclamation was issued by the Governor, offering a reward for the discovery of the offenders: but no one was disposed to act as informer; and if any were seized, 'the prisons,' said Mayhew, 'would not hold them many hours.' 'We have a dismal prospect before us,' said Hutchinson. And he advised that a larger watch should be set at night; but the motion was opposed, and the

ordinary watch was not increased. 'If Oliver had been found last night,' said Bernard, ruefully, 'he would actually have been murdered.' And Oliver inclined to the same opinion. It was plainly intimated that, if he did not resign his office before night, his house would have been pulled down about his ears; and thoroughly convinced that it would be best to yield, he signed a paper expressing his willingness to throw up his commission. This satisfied the crowd, and at night a bonfire celebrated their victory.

"For a short time there was quiet. But at length the distrust of the people fell upon Hutchinson, and, twelve days after Oliver had been hanged in effigy, the crowd assembled to pay him a visit. 'He is a prerogative man,' was the general cry. 'He grasps all the important offices in the state. He himself holds four offices, and his relatives six or seven. He had a principal hand in projecting the Stamp Act.' Such outcries wrought upon their inflammable spirits, and prepared them for deeds of greater violence. Their first act was to enter the office of Mr. Story, the deputy registrar, opposite the north side of the Court-house, and burn the records of the Vice-admiralty Court; next they ravaged the house of Mr. Hallowell, the comptroller of the customs, situated on Hanover Street; and then, hastening to the residence of Hutchinson, in Gordon Court Street, and barely giving his family time to escape, they split open the doors of his palatial mansion, destroyed his furniture, scattered his plate, threw his books and manuscripts into the street, ransacked his wine-cellar, and at daybreak left his house a ruin.

"Governor Bernard was at the castle when these events occurred; but hastening to town the next day, he summoned the Council to meet immediately, to decide what should be done. Before that body met, inhabitants of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall, and, deprecating the violent proceedings of the previous night, a series of resolutions was passed, desiring the selectmen to suppress the like disorders in the future, and pledging the assistance of the people in the discharge of this duty. The Council advised a proclamation offering a reward of three hundred pounds for the detection of the ringleaders and one hundred pounds for other persons, and six or eight were apprehended; but the attempt to arrest one Mackintosh, in King Street, was resisted, and those who had been seized were speedily liberated. The popular excitement was such that nothing could be effectually done, and the government was shorn of its usual strength. Few even of the conservative citizens sympathized with the legislation which had awakened this resentment, and few were disposed to interrupt the course of events. Only so much restraint was therefore exercised as to prevent the passions of the multitude from overleaping

all bounds, and many rejoiced that the abettors of oppression had been signally rebuked."

THE STAMP ACT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Belknap, in his history of New Hampshire, after briefly recounting the circumstances which led to the passage of the Stamp Act, says:

"This direct and violent attack on our dearest privileges at first threw us into a silent gloom; and we were at a loss how to proceed. To submit, was to rivet the shackles of slavery on ourselves and our posterity; to revolt, was to rend asunder the most endearing connection, and hazard the resentment of a powerful nation. In this dilemma, the House of Burgesses in Virginia passed some spirited resolves, asserting the rights of their country and denying the claim of parliamentary taxation. The Assembly of Massachusetts proposed a congress, of deputies from each Colony, to consult upon our common interests, as had frequently been practised in times of common danger. Several speeches made in Parliament by opposers of the Stamp Act were reprinted here; in one of which (that of Col. Barre), the Americans were styled 'Sons of Liberty,' and the speaker ventured, from his personal knowledge of this country, to foretell our opposition to the act.

"The spirit of the two Virginian resolves, like an electric spark, diffused itself instantly and universally; and the cautious proposal of Massachusetts was generally approved. . . .

"The person appointed distributor of stamps for New Hampshire was George Messerve, son of the late colonel, who died at Louisburg. He received his appointment in England, and soon after embarked for America and arrived at Boston. Before he landed, he was informed of the opposition which was making to the act; and that it would be acceptable to the people if he would resign, which he readily did, and they welcomed him on shore. An exhibition of effigies at Portsmouth had prepared the minds of the people there for his reception; and at his coming to town he made a second resignation, on the parade, before he went to his own house. This was accepted with the usual salutation; and every one appeared to be satisfied with the success of the popular measures. Soon after, the stamped paper destined for New Hampshire arrived at Boston in the same vessel with that intended for Massachusetts; but there being no person in either province who had any concern with it, it was, by order of Governor Bernard, lodged in the castle.

"The Stamp Act was to commence its operation on the first day of November; previously to which the appointed

Congress was formed at New York, consisting of delegates from the Assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, the Delaware counties, Maryland, and South Carolina. Having, like the Congress of 1764, formed themselves in geographical order, they framed a bill of rights for the Colonies, in which the sole power of taxation was declared to be in their own Assemblies. They prepared three distinct addresses, to the King, Lords, and Commons, stating their grievances, and asking for redress. These were subscribed by the delegates of six Colonies; the others who were present were not empowered to sign, but reported their proceedings to their constituents, who approved them in assembly, and forwarded their petitions. No delegates went from New Hampshire to this Congress; but the Assembly, at their next meeting, adopted the same measures, and sent similar petitions to England, which they committed to Barlow Trecothick, their agent, and John Wentworth, a young gentleman of Portsmouth, who was then in England, to be by them presented to the King and Parliament.

"On the last day of October (1765) the *New Hampshire Gazette* appeared with a mourning border. A body of people from the country approached the town of Portsmouth under an apprehension that the stamps would be distributed; but being met by a number from the town, and assured that no such thing was intended, they quietly returned. The next day the bells tolled, and a funeral procession was made for the Goddess of Liberty; but on depositing her in the grave, some signs of life were supposed to be discovered, and she was carried off in triumph. By such exhibitions, the spirit of the populace was kept up, though the minds of the most thoughtful persons were filled with anxiety.

"It was doubtful whether the courts of law could proceed without stamps; and it was certain that none could be procured. Some licentious persons began to think that debts could not be recovered, and that they might insult their creditors with impunity. On the first appearance of this disorderly spirit, associations were formed at Portsmouth, Exeter, and other places, to support the magistrates and preserve the peace. The 5th of November had always been observed as a day of hilarity, in remembrance of the powder-plot. On the following night a strong guard was kept in Portsmouth. By these precautions the tendency to riot was seasonably checked, and no waste of property or personal insult was committed; though some obnoxious characters began to tremble for their safety.

"When Messerve arrived, the people supposed that he had brought his commission with him, and were content that it should remain in his hands, being rendered void by his resignation. But in fact, he did not receive it till after

the time fixed for the operation of the act. Having shown his instructions to the Governor, and some other public officers, it was suspected that he intended to commence the execution of his office. The Sons of Liberty were alarmed; (this was January, 1766); they assembled by beat of drum, and obliged him publicly to deliver up his commission and instructions, which they mounted on the point of a sword and carried in triumph through the town. An oath was administered to him by Justice Claget, purporting that he would neither directly nor indirectly attempt to execute the office."

THE STAMP ACT—RHODE ISLAND.

Arnold's history of Rhode Island contains the following account of the action of the people of that Province, with reference to the Stamp Act. As has already been stated, the violent action of the Boston people occurred on the 14th and 15th of August, 1765. Those of New Hampshire began on the last day of October.

The first public notice taken of the Stamp Act by the people of Rhode Island was at a special town meeting in Providence on the 7th August, "at which a committee was appointed to draft instructions to their deputies in the General Assembly. The following week they reported a series of resolutions very similar to those passed in Virginia, which were afterwards adopted by the General Assembly, with some additions, to which we shall presently refer. No overt act of violence occurred in Providence. In Boston, a mob attacked the house of Secretary Oliver, the stamp-distributor, and compelled him to resign the office. An extra number of the Providence *Gazette*, which had been for some time suspended, was issued, with "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" in large letters above the title, and "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.—St. Paul"—as a motto. In this sheet the spirit of resistance manifested in Boston was extolled; the instructions of the Providence town meeting to their deputies were published, with extracts from Col. Barre's famous speech in Parliament, and from other Colonial papers against the Stamp Act. The resignation of Augustus Johnston, the Attorney-general, who had been appointed stamp-distributor for Rhode Island, was also announced in this extra; he refusing to execute his office against the will of "our sovereign lord, the people" (to use his own words). After referring to the conduct of the people of Boston, the historian continues: "At Newport, the demonstrations were equally violent. Effigies of three prominent citizens,* who

* "Augustus Johnston, Attorney-general of the Colony; Martin Howard, Jr., an eminent lawyer; and Dr. Thomas Moffat, a Scotch

had incurred the popular odium by advocating the measures of Parliament, were drawn through the streets, hung on a gallows in front of the Court-house, and in the evening were cut down and burnt in the presence of assembled thousands. On the following day, the houses of these obnoxious persons were plundered by the mob, and they were compelled to flee for protection on board the *Cygnets* sloop of war, then lying in the harbor. The revenue officers, in fear for their lives, sought the same refuge and closed the Custom-house. They addressed a letter to the government, demanding protection, and refusing to resume their offices until security was guaranteed to them. In the absence of the Governor, Gideon Wanton, Jr., of the Council, replied, assuring the officers that all danger was passed, and inviting them to resume their duties. This did not quiet their fears. They demanded a guard for their protection; and also the arrest of Samuel Crandall, a ringleader of the rioters, who had dictated, as the terms upon which the collector might again set his feet on shore, that the Custom-house fees should be regulated according to the late act of Assembly, in defiance of an act of Parliament; and that a prize sloop, with molasses, under the guns of the *Cygnets*, awaiting the decision of an Admiralty Court at Halifax, should be restored. A daring plan for the capture of this prize was made known to Captain Leslie, of the *Cygnets*, and by him communicated to Governor Ward. It was intended to man a number of boats and take possession of Fort George; then, with the boats, to cut out the sloop, and in case of resistance from the *Cygnets*, to fire upon her from the fort. Had this attempt been made, either the *Cygnets* would have been sunk by the guns of the fort, and the Revolution have commenced, as it did a few years later in the same waters, or the town would have been destroyed. But better counsels for the time prevailed; measures were taken to secure the fort, and harmony was shortly restored. The popular feeling was assuaged by a lawful and peaceful demonstration against the Stamp Act, such as had been made in Providence. The deputies were instructed by a town meeting to give their 'utmost attention to those important objects—the Court of Admiralty and the act for laying stamp duties'—at the approaching session of the Assembly. They were reminded that 'It is for liberty—that liberty for which our fathers fought; that liberty which is dearer to a generous mind than life itself—that we now contend. The cause is vast and important.'

On the 16th September, "one of the most important sessions ever held by the General Assembly was now convened

physician. The two latter returned to England. Howard was appointed chief justice of North Carolina the next year, and Moffat, comptroller of customs at New London."

at Greenwich. The Governor was requested to issue a proclamation for the arrest of the recent rioters at Newport, and to prevent a recurrence of such disturbances."

Instructions were prepared by a committee for their guidance, in which the loyalty of the Assembly to the King and Parliament are declared; yet "they would assert their rights and privileges with becoming freedom and spirit," and the delegates are directed "to express these sentiments in the strongest manner" in the representation and address proposed to be made by the Congress to the home government. This committee was composed of Othniel Gorton, Daniel Jenckes, and George Hazzard. Another committee, composed of Benjamin Green, Job Randall, William Hall, Moses Brown, and Henry Ward, was appointed to consider what is necessary to be done by this Assembly respecting the Stamp Act; and to report as soon as possible. "They presented a series of six resolutions, which," says Arnold, "like the previous acts of Rhode Island, were more energetic and concise than any that had yet been adopted by the other Colonies, and pointed directly to an absolution of allegiance to the British Crown unless the grievances were removed. Five of these were nearly in the terms of the instructions given by the town of Providence to their deputies. The first four had already been passed in Virginia; and the fifth, which had been offered there by Patrick Henry, and passed by one vote, but was rescinded the next day, was adopted by the Providence town meeting, and unanimously passed by the Assembly, as expressing precisely the views they were determined to maintain. This denied the right of any power but the General Assembly to levy taxes upon the Colony, and absolved the people from obedience to any law, designed for that purpose, originating from any other source. To these the Assembly added a sixth, directing the officers of the Colony to proceed as usual in the execution of their trusts, and agreeing to save them harmless in so doing. This was bold legislation, but the temper of the times and the spirit of the Colony were correctly represented therein." See Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. 2, pp. 257-261.

As it is proposed to include the Henry resolutions in their appropriate place under the head of Virginia, it is needless to insert them here. The sixth resolution adopted by the Rhode Island Assembly on this occasion is as follows:

"6. That all the officers of this Colony, appointed by the authority thereof, be, and they are hereby, directed to proceed in the execution of their respective offices, in the same manner as usual. And that this assembly will indemnify and save harmless all the said officers on account of their conduct agreeable to this resolution."

The Charter of Rhode Island authorized the people to choose their Governor; and this fact will account for the

statement recorded by Arnold, that "Samuel Ward, the Governor of Rhode Island, stood alone in his patriotic refusal" to take the oath to sustain the Stamp Act. All the other Governors took the oath the day before the act was to go into effect. "But the people had already settled the question. The fatal day dawned upon a nation united in their determination of resistance. Not a stamp was to be seen. The wheels of every government in America were stopped at once. Commerce was crushed, law was annulled, justice was delayed, even the usages of domestic life were suspended, by this anomalous and terrible act. Not a ship could sail, not a statute could be enforced, not a court could sit, not even a marriage taken place, that was not in itself illegal, so far as the British Parliament could make it so; for every one of these acts required the evidence of stamped paper to establish its validity."

But, "The triumph over an unjust and unconstitutional act was complete in Rhode Island, where, under the sixth resolution of the September Assembly, the judicial courts held their regular terms, unawed by the feeling which, in the other Colonies, suspended for a time that department of their several governments." Arnold, pages 264, 265.

"Organizations under the name of 'Sons of Liberty,' a term first applied to the Americans by Colonel Barre, in his famous speech against the Stamp Act, had sprung up in all the Colonies; but we believe that to Rhode Island was reserved the peculiar honor of initiating a similar order, composed of the gentler sex, known as 'Daughters of Liberty.' Its origin is ascribed to Dr. Ephraim Bowen, at whose house eighteen young ladies, belonging to prominent families in Providence, assembled (March 16, 1766) by invitation, and employed the time from sunrise till evening in spinning. They resolved to purchase no more British manufactures unless the Stamp Act should be repealed, and adopted other resolutions, perhaps more patriotic than prudent, to accomplish this desirable end. They were handsomely entertained by the doctor at dinner, but cheerfully agreed to omit tea at the evening meal to render their conduct yet more consistent. The association rapidly increased in numbers so that their next meeting was held at the Court-house. This was for the purpose of spinning a handsome piece of linen as a premium for the person who should raise the largest amount of flax during the year in the county of Providence. Thus the spirit of resistance pervaded every portion of society; and the determination to oppose the Stamp Act, even to 'the destruction of the union' of the Colonies with the mother-country, was declared at a meeting in Providence held at this time." Arnold, page 266, vol. 2d.

The joy of the people, when news arrived of the repeal of the Stamp Act, was unbounded. In Providence, the anni-

versary of the King's birth was selected as a day of public rejoicing, to attest at once the loyalty of the people and their love of liberty.

CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut was one of the earliest of the Colonies to protest against the Stamp Act. The press, the town meeting, and the pulpit united in a chorus of opposition, and roused the people to the point of resistance to its execution. Secret societies were framed with a view to resist the enforcement of the act, by violence, if necessary. Governor Fitch, though he had exerted himself to prevent the passage of the law, "remained, with a portion of the Council, firm in the determination" to sustain it, much as they loathed it. "Colonel Trumbull," says Hollister, "had been one of the first to decide upon a different course of action. Governor Fitch at last made the proposition, in open Council, that they should all take the oath in conformity with the Stamp Act. Trumbull's eye flashed and, his cheek darkened with anger at the proposal. He refused to witness the hollow-hearted ceremony, and, rising indignantly, turned his back upon the Governor and walked out of the chamber, followed by a majority of the assistants. Only four members of the Council remained."

The time had now arrived for action. Mr. Ingersoll, having accepted the place of stampmaster, was determined to discharge its duties; still, he sought to conciliate his fellow-townsmen at New Haven, who for the most part were opposed to the law. "The act is so contrived," he argued, "as to make it for your interest to buy the stamps. When I undertook the office, I meant a service to you." "Stop advertising your wares till they arrive safe at market," said one. "The two first letters of his name are those of a traitor of old," shouted a second, and added bitterly, "It was decreed that our Saviour should suffer; but was it better that Judas Iscariot should betray him so that the price of his blood might be saved by his friends?" At last the citizens gathered around his house in great numbers. "Will you resign?" was the private inquiry they put to him. "I know not if I have the power to resign," answered the resolute man. On the 17th of September (1765), a town meeting was held there, and Ingersoll was called upon by a public vote to resign his office without delay. "I shall await to see how the General Assembly is inclined," said the stampmaster, evasively.

"Affairs began now to assume a very threatening attitude. The Sons of Liberty from Norwich, New London, Windham, Lebanon, and other towns had already taken the field, and, with eight days' provisions, were riding up and down the country on horseback to search him out and force him

to resign. He could no longer stay in New Haven with safety. He therefore set off for Hartford, where the Assembly was about to meet. He intended to take the advice of the representatives of the people, hoping that it might be more to his mind than the will of the constituency. Governor Fitch accompanied him to protect him from insult. On their way they were met by two men on horseback, with peeled clubs in their hands, who did not conceal the fact that they were couriers of a much larger company. His excellency bade them go back and tell their associates to disperse. To his astonishment they refused to obey him. 'We look upon this,' said they, 'as the cause of the people; we will not take directions about it from any one.' Mr. Ingersoll sent a message by them to the effect that he would meet the multitude at Hartford. They then withdrew.

"On Thursday evening, the very day on which the session was to begin, Ingersoll resumed his journey for Hartford, alone. He rode through the woods many miles, and passed up the valley of the Connecticut for a good long way without molestation. What thoughts served to while away the time of this solitary traveller, history does not tell us, and we are at liberty to conjecture, each for himself. He had arrived within two or three miles of Wethersfield when he saw four or five men advancing to meet him. He probably needed little explanation as to the object of their errand. About half a mile farther up the river, he met a second escort, of thirty men; still no violence was offered to him. The stampmaster and his guard rode on with the solemnity and decorum of a funeral procession. But still more conspicuous honors awaited him. He soon saw a cavalcade of about five hundred freeholders and farmers, all well mounted and armed, not with carbines and steel blades, but with long and ponderous clubs. They were ghastly white, too, for the bark had been stripped from every one, in rude imitation of the ominous baton carried at that day by officers of the peace. This formidable company, under the command of Durkee, rode slowly forward behind two militia officers dressed in full uniform, and inspired by the presence of three trumpeters, who made the woods echo with martial music. They rode two abreast and opened their line to receive Mr. Ingersoll with the profoundest courtesy. They then rode forward along the western bank of the Connecticut, over those fair acres that were then cultivated farms and have since been converted into gardens, until they came to Wethersfield. In the wide main street of this oldest of all the towns in the Colony, the grandsons and great-grandsons of the pioneer planters, who had left the straitened settlements of Massachusetts to enjoy pure liberty and brave meadow-lands," halted between the two rows of houses whose fronts kept their gentlemanly distance of twenty full

rods from each other; and looking up at the blue vault, as if the open heavens were best fitted to witness the triumph of principles that had descended as legacies to them, they exclaimed significantly, "we cannot all see and hear so well in a house; we had as good have the business done here."

"Then they commanded him to resign. 'Is it fair,' interposed Ingersoll, 'that the counties of New London and Windham should dictate to all the rest of the Colony?' 'It don't signify to parley,' was the answer; 'here are a great many people waiting, and you must resign.' Then ensued in substance the following dialogue between the people and the stampmaster:

"Ingersoll—'I wait to know the sense of the Government. Besides, were I to resign, the Governor has power to put in another.'

"People—'Here is the sense of the Government; and no man shall exercise your office.'

"Ingersoll—'What will follow if I won't resign?'

"People—'Your fate.'

"Ingersoll (calmly)—'I can die, and perhaps as well now as at any time. I can die but once.'

"Durkee (impatiently)—'Don't irritate the people.'

"Ingersoll—'I ask for leave to proceed to Hartford.'

"Durkee—'You shall not go two rods till you have resigned.'

"Ingersoll now bethought him of a new expedient to gain time. Under the pretence of reflecting upon the propriety of complying with the demand of the people, he retired into an upper room of a house that was standing near by the spot where this parley had taken place. A committee of the people attended him. Here he contrived to put off the multitude with promises and excuses for three tedious hours, during which he sent a messenger to Hartford to inform the Governor and the Legislature of his situation. At last the crowd began to lose all patience. 'Get the matter over before the Assembly has time to do anything about it,' said some; while others, probing his motives to their depths, exclaimed in their blunt, strong English, 'This delay is his artifice to wheedle the matter along till the Assembly shall get ensnared in it.' The passions of the multitude were now at fever heat. Striding to the door of the house where Ingersoll had retreated, and stalking up the stairs, Durkee again confronted the stampmaster. 'I can keep the people off no longer,' said he, in a tone of warning. These words were like a death-knell to Ingersoll. He saw the stalwart farmers filling the hall with their dark forms, their white staves gleaming as they pressed upon each other, and their great, bright eyes flashing with indignation. The heavy tramp of others was ascending the stairs. He saw that he must surrender at discretion or be torn in pieces.

“ ‘The cause is not worth dying for,’ he said with the cool irony that marked his character, as he set his hand to the formal resignation that had been prepared for him, and of which the following is a copy :

“ ‘ WETHERSFIELD, September 19th, 1765.

“ ‘ I do hereby promise that I never will receive any stamped papers which may arrive from Europe, in consequence of an act lately passed in the Parliament of Great Britain; nor officiate as stampmaster or distributor of stamps, within the Colony of Connecticut, either directly or indirectly. And I do hereby notify to all the inhabitants of his Majesty’s Colony of Connecticut (notwithstanding the said office or trust has been committed to me), not to apply to me, ever after, for any stamped paper: hereby declaring that I do resign the said office and execute these presents of my own free will and accord, without any equivocation or mental reservation.

“ ‘ In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand.

“ ‘ J. INGERSOLL.’

“ ‘ Swear to it !’ cried the people, when he had written his name. He begged that they would excuse him from taking an oath. ‘ Then shout liberty and property three times,’ said the sovereign crowd. Against this spontaneous form of abjuration he could raise no valid objection. He swung his hat about his head and uttered the charmed words three several times with such well-feigned earnestness that the people set the seal to his repentance by giving three huzzas that must have echoed to the eastern bank of the Connecticut.

“ ‘ The party now dined in perfect good humor. By this time the company had doubled its numbers, and after dinner one thousand horsemen were ready to attend his triumphant entry into Hartford. The highway was thronged with freeholders, standing in front of their houses, to get a fair view of the stampmaster and his retinue.”

Hollister, in a note, gives an anecdote as illustrative of the good humor that prevailed on the march. “ General Humphreys,” he says, “ mentions a jest that passed between them while the cavalcade was escorting the ex-stampmaster to Hartford—which was given and received with entire good nature. Mr. Ingersoll, who chanced to ride a white horse, being asked what he thought to find himself attended by such a retinue, replied ‘ that he had now a clearer idea than ever he had before conceived of that passage in the Revelations which describes Death on a pale horse, and Hell following him.’ ”

“ ‘ At last,” resumes Hollister, “ they reached the Capitol. Here Durkee drew up his dragoons four abreast, and, while the trumpeters redoubled their exertions to enliven the

scene, led the main body over the familiar haunts where the train-bands had defied the tyranny of Fletcher, and where the charter had eluded the grasp of Andross. He then ordered them to form around the Court-house in a semicircle. The stampmaster was set in a conspicuous place, and commanded to read his recantation aloud in the hearing of the Assembly and in the presence of the people. He went through the ceremony to the universal satisfaction of the audience; and after the shout of liberty and property had been again followed by a round of hearty cheers, these lords of the soil, whose ancestors had helped to frame the Constitution of 1639, returned to their farms to pray for the King and to supplicate heaven that the eyes of the Ministry might be opened to repeal the unhallowed and execrable Stamp Act.

"A suspicion having been awakened that, notwithstanding the public resignation, Ingersoll might still undertake the exercise of his office, he made this further public renunciation:

"Whereas, I have lately received two anonymous letters calling on me (among other things) to give the public some further assurance with regard to my intentions about exercising the office of distributor of stamps for this Colony as some others have done since receiving our commissions or deputations of office for that purpose; and that I confirm the same by oath. And although I don't think it best ordinarily to take notice of such letters, nor yet to take oaths upon such kind of occasions, yet, as I have good reason to think those letters came from a large number of people belonging to this Colony, and do respect a subject of a very interesting nature, and the present times being peculiarly difficult and critical, and I myself at no loss or difficulty about making known my resolutions and intentions respecting the matters aforesaid I have concluded to make the following declaration, and to confirm the same by an oath; that is to say:

"1. I never was, nor am now, desirous or even willing to hold or exercise the aforesaid office contrary to the mind and inclination of the general body of people in this Colony.

"2. I have for some time been, and still am, persuaded that it is the general opinion and sentiment of the people of this Colony (after mature deliberation) that the Stamp Act is an infringement of their rights and dangerous to their liberties; and therefore I am not willing, nor will I, for that and other good and sufficient reasons, as I suppose (and which I hope and trust will excuse me to those who appointed me), exercise the said office against such general opinion and sentiment of the people; and, generally, and in a word, will never at all, by myself or otherwise, officiate under my said deputation. And as I have, so I will, in the

most effectual manner I am able, apply to the proper board in England for a dismission from my said office.

“‘J. INGERSOLL.’

“‘NEW HAVEN,’ } ss.:
Jan. 8, 1766. }

“‘Then personally appeared Jared Ingersoll, Esqr., and made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration by him subscribed before me.

DAVID LYMAN,

“‘Justice Peace.’”

Col. Putnam was one of the principal instigators of these proceedings, but circumstances prevented him from being present. He was deputed, however, to wait on the Governor, Fitch, and express to him the sentiments of the people. The following is the report of their interview:

“Governor—‘What shall I do if the stamped paper should be sent to me by the King’s authority?’

“Putnam—‘Lock it up until we [meaning probably the Sons of Liberty] shall visit you again.’

“Governor—‘And what will you do then?’

“Putnam—‘We shall expect you to give us the key to the room in which it is deposited; and if you think fit, in order to screen yourself from blame, you may forewarn us upon our peril not to enter the room.’

“Governor—‘And what will you do afterwards?’

“Putnam—‘Send it safely back again.’

“Governor—‘But if I should refuse admission?’

“Putnam—‘Your house will be levelled with the dust in five minutes.’”

Thus ended the colloquy. It was soon repeated in New York, and alarmed those agents, who had charge of this contraband property, to such a degree that they did not dare to send their freight into Connecticut.” Hollister, vol. II, pages 133-139.

In the spring of 1766, some vessels arrived with stamped paper on board, which was deposited in the custom-house at New London. The collector was immediately waited on by the Sons of Liberty, who demanded the obnoxious freight. It was promptly delivered into their hands. A mock court was held; the stamp paper was arraigned, tried, and found guilty. Sentence of whipping and burning was passed, and the punishment summarily inflicted.

NEW YORK.

On December 11, 1764, the Lords of Trade made a representation to the King on certain proceedings of Massachusetts and New York. They complain of the resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts Assembly, and also of a letter of instructions to their agent, which had not the consent and

approbation of the Governor and Council. It is alleged that the letter treated the acts and resolutions of the legislature of Great Britain with "the most indecent disrespect," and that "principles of the most dangerous nature and tendency" were "openly avowed," and that the Assemblies of the other Colonies were invited "in most extraordinary manner to adopt the same opinions. We think it our duty humbly to lay these votes before your Majesty," etc.

"We likewise crave leave humbly to lay before your Majesty the copy of an address of the assembly of New York to the Lieutenant-governor of that Province, and of his prudent and becoming answer thereto; in which address the said Assembly avow opinions and make declarations of the same dangerous tendency with those of the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay.

"These proceedings which are, in our judgment, calculated to raise groundless suspicion and distrust in the minds of your Majesty's good subjects in the Colonies, and have the strongest tendency to subvert those principles of constitutional relation and dependence upon which the Colonies were originally established, contain certain matter of so high importance that we shall not presume to offer any opinion what may be proper to be done thereupon." These resolutions of the Assembly were made with reference to the Stamp Act, and claimed the exclusive right of the Colonies to tax themselves.

About the same time an angry controversy arose between the Governor and Council on one side, and the Supreme Court, backed by the bar, on the other, relative to the right of appeal from the Supreme Court to the Governor and Council. The Chief Justice, Horsmanden, refused to grant appeals. Governor Colden regarded this as a matter "of the greatest consequence to his Majesty's authority in this Province, and to the dependence of the Colonies on the Crown of Great Britain." He accordingly wrote a long representation of the case to the Lords of Trade, and appealed to them for protection, admitting that the authority of government had become so weakened that he felt no longer safe. This controversy grew out of the "Instructions to his Governor of this Province, whereby the Governor or Commander-in-chief is directed, in all civil causes, on application being made to him for that purpose, to permit and allow of appeals from any of the courts of common law unto the Governor and Council," etc.

These instructions, of course, were in violation of chartered rights and the rights of Englishmen. The Governor, in his letter to Earl Halifax on this subject, admits that he "is no lawyer" in the very act of contending that appeals should be taken from courts "learned in the law" to his jurisdiction.

The Attorney-general, Mr. Kemp, "absolutely refused to advise or assist in the support of his Majesty's instructions," and Justice Livingston is accused of having an interest in the great land patents. The Governor suggests to his Lordship that the Chief Justice, Justice Livingston, and Attorney-general Kemp be summarily removed from office.

But the Lieutenant-governor was not sustained by the Lords of Trade and the King. The instructions were modified so as to provide for appeals only in cases of error; and it was even pretended, while receding from their original ground, that the omission of the restraining words was accidental. At the same time, by implication, a rebuke was administered to the Lieutenant-governor for having construed his instructions literally.

What has been stated in regard to the controversy about appeals is a digression; but it will be excused, as it serves to illustrate the temper and spirit of the people of New York at the period referred to.

In a letter dated New York, September 23, 1765, Lieutenant-governor Colden says: "Soon after it was known that stamp duties were by act of Parliament to be paid in the Colonies, virulent papers were published in the weekly newspapers filled with every falsehood that malice could invent to serve their purpose of exciting the people to disobedience of the laws, and to sedition. At first they only denied the authority of Parliament to lay internal taxes in the Colonies, but at last they have denied the legislative authority of the Parliament in the Colonies, and these papers continue to be published."

The stamp-distributor, Mr. McEwers, was so terrified by the news from Boston of the treatment of Oliver that he resigned the office while the storm was yet brewing and before it broke upon him. In his letter of resignation addressed to Lieutenant-governor Colden, he says: "Since the late riot at Boston and the inflammatory papers lately printed in the Colonies, people of this city are so incensed against me as a distributor of stamps for this Province that I find it will be attended with the greatest risk of my person and fortune to attempt, and indeed impossible for me, to execute the office. To prevent the same cruel fate Mr. Oliver met with at Boston (as I had certain information from several of my particular friends that a storm was rising and I should soon feel it), I have been under the necessity of declaring that I had declined the office, and have accordingly wrote to the commissioners signifying that I cannot submit to a service that will be attended with very dangerous consequences upon the very first attempt to officiate." The date of this letter is not given, but is enclosed in one from Governor Colden to Secretary Conway, of September 23, 1765.

The people of New York were in a very excited frame of mind at this time, and had been for a year past, as appears from the letter of the Lords of Trade, of December 11th of the year previous, already quoted; and it is manifest from Colden's letter that he shared in the fears which drove the stampmaster into resignation. He made his home in Fort George, and as far back as the month of May he represented to the general (Gage), he "could not answer for the safety of his Majesty's fort in its present state from a mob or from the negroes, in consequence of which he ordered a company of the Sixtieth Regiment from Crown Point, which arrived in July." A new supply of ammunition and arms was also brought in.

"It is evident," says Colden, "that a secret correspondence has been carried on throughout all the Colonies, and that it has been concerted to deter by violence the distributors of stamps from executing their office, and to destroy the stamped paper when it arrives."

The stamps at length arrived in the ship *Edward*, and was carefully guarded until it reached the fort, where it was under the protection of its guns and of his Majesty's ships-of-war. After much difficulty and delay, the stamps were removed to the fort. The night after the arrival of the vessel with the stamps, a paper was posted on every public-house and at the corners of the streets, of which the following is a copy:

"Pro Patria.

"The first man that either distributes or makes use of stamp paper, let him take care of his house, person, and effects.

We Dare.

VOX POPULI."

The following letter from Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Lords of Trade furnishes a pretty clear idea of two subsequent proceedings of the people of New York in regard to the Stamp Act:

"NEW YORK, 6th Dec., 1765.

"MY LORDS:

"The deputy secretary informs me that Sir Henry Moore has transmitted to your lordships copies of the minutes of Council which have reference to the riots which lately happened in the city of New York, but, if I mistake not, that the minutes in the beginning of September were omitted. I now inclose a copy of those minutes from a copy which I now have with me at my residence in the country, because without them your lordships' information cannot be complete.

"From the minutes of Council of the 4th and 7th of September, it appears that General Gage, as well as myself, was of

opinion that the assistance of the regular troops was necessary for securing the city from riots and tumults. The daringly seditious papers which the general mentions in his letter, continually published, and which the civil power could not suppress, made this appear necessary to both of us, tho' we yielded to the opinion and advice of the Council. What has happened since shows that the Council erred in their judgment; for certainly it would have been much easier to prevent the first appearance of any mob, by a force sufficient to deter them, than to suppress riots and mobs without such force.

"It is necessary to relate particularly what I afterwards did, that your lordships may judge whether I gave any just occasion for the riots which succeeded.

"On the 23d of October, the ship, *Edward*, William Davis, commander, arrived in the river, with packages of stamped paper and parchments on board. The mob, threatening to destroy the ship and cargo if the stamped paper was not delivered to them, and as these packages were intermixed with other goods in the hold, the master and owner of the ship proposed to me to hire a sloop to take the merchants' goods on board, and to land them till the packages could be come at; but no sloop would hire at any rate. On which I told the master and owner to go to the wharf and unload as usual, and that I would give directions to the magistrates to secure them from any insult; but they, answering that they apprehended the ship and cargo would be in danger by so doing, they desired, with the approbation of the merchants who had goods on board, that I should desire the frigate under whose protection the ship was, to assist them in removing the goods till the packages of stamped paper could be come at and put on board the frigate, which was accordingly done with the apparent satisfaction of all who were interested in the ship and cargo.

"The packages were afterwards landed at noon-day from the frigate, and carried into the Fort without any guard, and remained there without any public discontent appearing till the last day of October, when I, in Council, took the oath enjoined by act of Parliament.

"In the night of the 1st of November, a great riot happened, consisting of several thousands of people. A great number of boys carried lighted torches, followed by a scaffold on which was placed two images, one representing their old, gray-haired Governor, and the other the Devil whispering in his ear. They came up close to the fort gate, and, in going from it, broke open my coach-house, took out my chariot, carried it round the streets of the town, with the images, returned a second time to the fort gate, and then carried the images to an open place about 100 yards from it, where they were hung up some time on a gibbet, afterwards cut down,

and burnt in a fire prepared for the purpose, together with my chariot and some other carriages found in my coach-house, and all the furniture of my stables. When the images were brought up to the fort, the garrison were on the ramparts. Notwithstanding the grossest ribaldry of the mob, and many stones thrown into the fort, not a single word was returned from any man in it. After they had finished this insult, they went to Major James' house, destroyed everything in it, without leaving him and his lady more than the clothes on their backs.

"The next day letters and messages were sent in to me, threatening my life if I did not deliver up stamped papers. By advice of Council—I very readily declared that I would not distribute them; in truth, it was not in my power to do it—but deliver them to Sir Henry Moore when he arrived. This gave satisfaction to great numbers, who in the most open manner declared their satisfaction; but the principal leaders declared themselves not satisfied, and insisted that the stamped papers should be put on board the Coventry, commanded by Captain Kennedy. This I did not oppose; but Captain Kennedy absolutely refused to receive them, and with good reason, for he was aware of their design to force him to deliver them to the mob, by threatening to destroy the houses he was possessed [of] in the city, of which he has in his own and his wife's right more than perhaps any one man in it.

"While these things were transacting, the engineers put the fort into the best state of defence and offence. The mob renewed their threats against the fort, and that they would assault it to come at the stamped papers. The men of greatest property, and the magistrates of the city, seeing that, from the posture the fort was then in, the destruction of great part of the city must be the consequence of such an attempt, humbly deprecated to save the city from desolation. At last I consented to deliver up the stamped paper to the mayor and corporation of the city, as appears by the minutes of Council; after which the mob entirely dispersed, and the city remained in perfect tranquillity till I delivered up the administration to Sir Henry Moore.

"My Lords, your most obd't, &c.,

[Signed.]

"CADWALLADER COLDEN."

On the 21st December the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, in a letter to Earl Dartmouth, gives a gloomy picture of affairs: "The whole Province is now smarting very severely for the late rash proceedings in regard to the Stamp Act; your Lordship may very well imagine this, upon being informed that all our courts are shut up, and that no vessel is permitted to go out of the harbor, so that it is morally impossible that the people here can subsist any time under such

inconveniences as they have brought on themselves." He was persuaded that "the distresses that must attend the suspension of the law will facilitate the carrying it into execution, more than any attempts I could possibly make in its favor," etc.

Both the Governor and Lieutenant-governor bent before the storm a great deal more than they were willing to admit in plain words. We have seen that Colden surrendered the stamps, on the demand of the mob, to the corporate authorities of the city, and that he made a solemn declaration and promise that he would do nothing further towards the enforcement of the Stamp Act until the arrival of Governor Moore, when his powers were to cease. This promise was made only a day or two after his oath was taken before the Council, in obedience to the law, that he would do all in his power to enforce it. For the promise thus given, in the face of his oath, he was severely censured by the secretary, Conway; though in other respects his conduct was approved. Governor Moore was as complaisant to the mob as the Lieutenant-governor had been, which the latter takes pleasure in making known in his correspondence with Conway. He writes, December 13th, while the mob was in the zenith of its power, that Sir Henry Moore, the Governor, "takes every method to ingratiate himself with the people, with what success in allaying the seditious spirit will appear from the public transactions. The fort is dismantled—everything which Mayor James introduced of artillery, stores, and gunpowder removed out of it."

Governor Moore, on the other hand, modestly refrains from stating what he had done to pacify the people; but contents himself with saying that "My arrival has in some measure restored tranquillity, but you will perceive, by the minutes of the Council, here inclosed, that I am not to be supported in the execution of the act, and that their (the councillors) apprehensions of future disturbances have influenced all the opinions they have given me on this occasion. In consequence of their resolutions, I am obliged to suspend a power which I am not able to exert without their assistance, and to make a merit of acting in a manner which carries no other recommendation with it but that of not exposing the weakness of our government." He further states that the outrages in all parts of the country had frightened the stampmasters into resignation, and that it would be difficult to supply their places.

In a letter dated January 14, 1766, Colden writes to Conway as follows:

"The design of the present ruling faction in this Province is to make me an example, to deter all succeeding Governors and officers of the Crown from opposing their domination. I have already informed you, sir, that this faction is com-

posed of the lawyers and men of enormous landed estates, who have obtained an absolute influence in the Assembly. In the last act for granting salaries to the officers of government, the Assembly have deprived me of my salary from the time the preceding act expired to the time Sir Henry Moore arrived, which, at the rate the Governor's salary is fixed by the last act, amounts to four hundred pounds in the currency of this Province," etc.

Destruction of Stamps.

January 16, 1766, Governor Moore writes to Secretary Conway, as follows:

"The day before I had the honor of your letter of the 24th October, a vessel arrived here from England, having on board some stamped papers for this Province and Connecticut, which in the following night, were forcibly taken out of the ship and destroyed. This proceeding, so contrary to what I had reason to expect," etc.

The Governor admits that he was powerless to punish or prevent the disorders.

The foregoing account of the action of the people of New York with reference to the Stamp Act has been derived from the valuable historical collection entitled "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York." It will be seen that the authorities were all adverse to the rights of the people. But after a successful revolution, the allegations and arraignments made by the discomfited minions of despotism became records and monuments of the courage and patriotism of the accused.

NEW JERSEY.

The following account of the action of New Jersey with reference to the Stamp Act is taken from a discourse read before the New Jersey Historical Society, in the year 1848, by Richard S. Field, Esq.* Though styled a discourse, it is a book in proportions, with an appendix, as it appears, beautifully printed, in the collections of the New Jersey Historical Society; the subject being, "The Provincial Courts of New Jersey, with Sketches of the Bench and Bar:"

"New Jersey shared with her sister-Colonies in the indignation and alarm which was occasioned by the passage of the Stamp Act; and nowhere did it encounter a more vigorous though peaceful resistance. The lawyers of New Jersey were the first to adopt measures for systematic opposition to the use of stamps. At the September term of the Supreme Court, 1765, a meeting of the bar was held at Amboy for the purpose of considering what step it would be proper to pursue upon the arrival of the stamps, which were

then shortly expected. There was a full and general attendance; and after a free interchange of sentiment, it was unanimously resolved that they would not consent to make use of the stamps under any circumstances or for any purpose whatever. The effect of such a resolution was to put an entire stop to the transaction of all legal business, and thus render the odious act wholly unproductive as a source of revenue. It was the most efficient measure, therefore, that could have been adopted, and the more creditable to them as they were likely to be the principal sufferers by it. Their wise and patriotic example was much applauded at the time, and was soon followed in other Colonies; but, like everything else of interest and importance connected with New Jersey, it hardly receives a passing notice on the page of American history. The truth is, Massachusetts and Virginia seem to have monopolized, in a great measure, all the glory of the Revolution.

"On the 20th of September, the day after this meeting, Chief Justice Smyth desired the members of the bar to attend him in a body, that he might lay before them some matters for their consideration. A report had been in circulation that he had solicited the appointment of distributor of stamps. This he denied upon his honor. After setting himself right on that point, he proceeded to propose to them certain questions, to which he desired a separate answer from each.

"The first was: 'Whether, if the stamps should arrive and be placed at the city of Burlington, by or after the 1st of November, they would, as practitioners, agree to purchase them for their necessary legal proceedings?' To this they answered, 'that they would not, but rather suffer their private interests to give way to the public good, protesting against all riotous proceedings.'

"The next question was: 'Whether, in their opinion, the duties could possibly be paid in gold and silver?'

[It was about this time that an order from the board of trade required the payment of all duties in gold and silver.]

"They answered, 'that they could not be paid in gold and silver, even for one year.'

"The last question was: 'Whether, as the act required the Governor and Chief Justice to superintend the distribution of stamps, he would be obliged to accept the appointment of distributor in case the Governor should fix upon him for that office?' Their answer was, 'that the Governor was not empowered by the act to appoint; that if he was, it was left to the option of the Chief Justice whether to accept or not; and that it would be incompatible with his office as Chief Justice.'

"The Chief Justice seems to have been entirely satisfied with these answers, and to have acted upon the advice thus

given him. In fact, before the arrival of the day on which the act was to take effect, every distributor of stamps in America had resigned. The effect of these proceedings was to produce a complete cessation of all legal business. The stamps arrived, but no one would purchase them. The courts of justice were shut up.

"But this state of things could not last long. The people were becoming impatient of its continuance, and tired of mere passive resistance. Associations had sprung up in nearly all the Colonies under the titles of 'Sons of Liberty,' who were in favor of setting the provisions of the act at open defiance. Efforts were made to induce the lawyers of New Jersey to transact business without the use of stamps. Another meeting of the bar was proposed. Heretofore, all had been done in perfect harmony. There had not been a single dissenting voice. But now, the line began for the first time to be drawn, between those who thought they had gone far enough, and those who were willing to go further. We have a letter from David Ogden to Philip Kearney, in which he declares himself opposed to another meeting of the bar, and expresses the hope that they would continue to pursue the peaceful method they had adopted, until the Stamp Act was repealed.

"The meeting nevertheless took place. It was held at New Brunswick on the 13th of February, 1766. The Sons of Liberty to the number of several hundred took care to be present at the same time, and united in a written request to the members of the bar, urging them to proceed to business as usual without stamps, and to use their influence to have the courts of justice opened. The meeting, while they agreed to preserve that happy state of tranquillity which had thus far been maintained in the Province, at the same time resolved that, if the Stamp Act was not repealed by the first day of April following, they would resume their practice as usual. And they appointed a committee of two to wait upon the Sons of Liberty and assure them that, if the act was not suspended or repealed, they would join them in opposing it with their lives and fortunes.

"These were bold and spirited resolutions. Even in Massachusetts—generally in advance of the Colonies—the most patriotic of the lawyers deemed it impossible to conduct judicial business in open disregard of an act of Parliament, however unjust or tyrannical it might be; and nothing but a resolution of the Assembly emboldened them to venture upon such a step.

"Before the arrival of the day, however, named in the resolutions of the bar of New Jersey, the Stamp Act was repealed, and all further proceedings upon their part became unnecessary."

From the Index to Colonial Documents, it appears that

William Coxe, stamp-distributor, tendered his resignation of the office, Sept. 3, 1765; and that the Sons of Liberty of Woodbridge and Piscatoway "were particularly prominent in inducing" his resignation. September 4th, Governor Franklin replied that as he (Coxe) "made application for the office," he ought to hold onto it, and would be held responsible for the papers. September 14th, Governor Franklin writes to General Gage, informing him of the resignation of the stamp-distributor, and asking him if he could have the aid of the military if he should find it necessary to call on him.

September 16th, Gage replies that the Governor may depend on one hundred men, with proper officers, ready to march to New Jersey, on his requisition, to preserve good order in the Province.

Governor Franklin wrote the British Secretary of State, Conway, October 10th, that it would be difficult to find a man to take the place of Coxe, as stamp-distributor, and, November 13, that the people of New Jersey would be sure to follow the seditious example set in other Colonies in resistance to the Stamp Act. He also refers to the agreement entered into by the lawyers; and states, at the preceding term of the supreme court, only criminal matters were attended to.

November 30th, Governor Franklin wrote Conway that the infection was spreading, with regard to the Stamp Act, and had reached New Jersey. No riots had been committed, but the most prudent management was necessary to prevent them.

The New Jersey Assembly had refused to send delegates to the general Congress at New York to protest against the Stamp Act; but December 9th, the committee of correspondence of the Assembly transmitted copies of the petitions to the King and the two Houses of Parliament, agreed to by the Congress in New York. The Assembly also approved the proceedings of the Congress.

December 18th, Governor Franklin, in a letter to the board of trade, says that, notwithstanding the Assembly refused to send a committee of delegates to the Congress at New York, the Speaker (Robert Ogden) "summoned the House to oblige the people of east Jersey, and prevailed upon them to choose three; but refusing to be one of the committee, he was burned in effigy in almost all the towns of East Jersey, which induced him to resign his seat in the Assembly; the minutes of Council and Assembly contain particulars of the Assembly's further proceedings; the Stamp Act has not been yet carried into execution—the officers dare not do it for fear of being torn to pieces by the mob; the stamps are still on board the man-of-war; the business is at a stand-still."

March 1, 1766, Conway sent a circular-letter to the several Governors in North America—could give no advice

how to act in the perplexed state of things; a bill had been brought into Parliament, and had made some progress, for the repeal of the Stamp Act.

March 31st, Conway, writes another circular-letter announcing the repeal of the act.

This ended the controversy on the Stamp Act.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The following account of the reception which the Stamp Act met with in Pennsylvania is taken from Hazzard's Register, which credits it to the publication known as "Prior Documents." The act was passed by the British Parliament, as has already been stated, in March, 1765; and the General Assembly of Pennsylvania which met in Philadelphia in September adopted the following resolutions:

"The House, taking into consideration that an act of Parliament has lately passed in England, for imposing certain stamp duties and other duties on his Majesty's subjects in America, whereby they conceive some of their most essential and valuable rights, as British subjects, to be deeply affected, think it a duty they owe to themselves and their posterity to come to the following resolutions, viz.:

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the Assemblies of this Province have, from time to time, whenever requisitions have been made by his Majesty for carrying on military operations for the defence of America, most cheerfully and liberally contributed their full proportion of men and money for these services.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That whenever his Majesty's service shall, for the future, require the aids of the inhabitants of this Province, and they shall be called upon for that purpose in a constitutional way, it will be their indispensable duty most cheerfully and liberally to grant to his Majesty their proportion of men and money for the defence, security, and other public services of the British North American Colonies.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the inhabitants of this Province are entitled to all the rights and privileges of his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain or elsewhere; and that the constitution of Government in this Province is founded on the natural rights of mankind, and the noble principles of English liberty, and therefore is or ought to be perfectly free.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That it is the inherent birthright and indubitable privilege of every British subject to be taxed only by his own consent, or that of his legal representatives, in conjunction with his Majesty or his substitutes.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the only legal representatives of the inhabitants of this Province are the persons they annually elect to serve as members of Assembly.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the taxation of the people of this Province by any other persons whatsoever than such their representatives in Assembly is unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the laying taxes upon the inhabitants of this Province in any other manner being manifestly subversive of public liberty, must, of necessary consequence, be utterly destructive of public happiness.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the vesting an authority in the Courts of Admiralty to decide in suits relating to the stamp duties and other matters foreign to their proper jurisdiction is highly dangerous to the liberties of his Majesty's American subjects, contrary to Magna Charta,—the great charter and fountain of English liberty,—and destructive of one of their most darling and acknowledged rights—that of trials by juries.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That it is the opinion of this House that the restraints imposed by several acts of Parliament on the trade of this Province, at a time when the people labor under an enormous load of debt, must of necessity be attended with the most fatal consequences, not only to this Province, but to the trade of the mother-country.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That this House think it their duty thus firmly to assert, with modesty and decency, their inherent rights, that their posterity may learn and know, that it was not with their consent and acquiescence, that any taxes should be levied on them on them by any persons but their own representatives; and are desirous that these their resolves should remain on their minutes as a testimony of the zeal and ardent desire of the present House of Assembly to preserve their inestimable rights, which, as Englishmen, they have possessed ever since this Province was settled, and to transmit them to their latest posterity."

On the 5th of October, the stamps arrived at Philadelphia, the ship which brought them having laid some time at New Castle-upon Delaware, under protection of a man-of-war. When the ship first appeared round Gloucester Point, all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors half-staff high, the bells were muffled and continued to toll until evening, and every countenance added to the appearance of sincere mourning. At four in the afternoon several thousands of citizens met at the State House to consult on proper measures to prevent the execution of the Stamp Act. It was agreed to send a deputation of seven persons to Mr. Hughes, the stampmaster for that Province (who was then sick in bed), to request he would resign his office. He readily declared that no act of his should assist the carrying of that law into execution till it was generally complied with in the other Colonies, but refused to sign any resignation. When this report was made by the deputies to the State House, the

citizens were enraged to that degree that it is hard to say what lengths their fury would have carried them had not the deputies represented Mr. Hughes at the point of death; this moved their compassion, and they agreed to make their demand in writing and give Mr. Hughes till the Monday following to make a reply. And on Monday the deputies read the following answer aloud to all the multitude assembled:

“PHILADELPHIA, Monday morning, October 7, 1765.

“Whereas, about six o'clock on Saturday evening last a paper was sent to me, expressing that a great number of citizens of Philadelphia assembled at the State House, to demand of Mr. John Hughes, distributor of stamps for Pennsylvania, that he will give them assurance, under his hand, that he will not execute that office, and expect that he will give them a fair, candid, and direct answer by Monday next at ten o'clock, when he will be waited on for that purpose,

“I do therefore return for answer to those gentlemen and all their associates, that I have not hitherto taken any step tending to put the late act of Parliament into execution in this Province, and that I will not, either by myself or my deputies, do any act or thing that shall have the least tendency to put the said act into execution in this Province until the said act shall be put into execution generally in the neighboring Colonies; and this I am determined to abide by.

“And whereas, my commission includes the three counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex-upon-Delaware, I do therefore hereby voluntarily inform the good people of those counties that no act of mine shall, either directly or indirectly, involve them in any difficulties with respect to the said Stamp Act before the same shall take place generally in the neighboring Colonies.

“JOHN HUGHES.”

A week later, Mr. Hughes gave to the commissioners of stamps a long account of his troubles, in which he attributes the disturbances to the “Presbyterians and the proprietary party.” His letter is as follows:

“PHILADELPHIA, October 12, 1765.

“GENTLEMEN: Having been confined to my bed twenty-five days past, with a violent disorder that was expected would prove mortal, but, thank God, am now able to sit up in bed, I shall attempt to give you a sketch of not only my own conduct, but also that of the Presbyterians and proprietary party here relative to the stamp office.

“In May last, I received information from Dr. Franklin that he had recommended me for chief distributor of stamps in this Province; and thus the matter rested until some gentleman to the eastward received their commissions,

whereupon mobs arose in several of the Eastern Provinces and the officers were obliged to resign ; but as a prelude to the destruction and disorder made by those mobs, the printers in each Colony, almost without exception, stuffed their papers weekly, for some time before, with the most inflammatory pieces they could procure, and excluded everything that tended to cool the minds of the people. These measures they pursued until the Presbyterians, in particular, in every Colony, began to threaten the Stamp officers; and those gentry in their Province, about the beginning of September, began to be very noisy, and some of them said I ought to resign. I gave them for answer, I had as yet no commission, therefore could not resign what I had not. However, about the middle of September, it was reported that the stamps would arrive in Captain Friend's ship, who was then expected, and these riotous gentry began to threaten they would destroy the stamps as soon as they arrived. I therefore, being desirous, as far as in me lay, to preserve the stamps, wrote on the 17th the letter (No. 1) to his Honor the Governor, but received no answer; and as the stamps did not arrive in Captain Friend's vessel, matters rested until October 2d, when I received the paper (No. 2), being a note from Captain William Dovel; a tool of the party, and therefore I wrote my answer (No. 3) to Mr. Dickenson, the owner of the ship, and on the next day wrote my letter (No. 4) to his Honor the Governor, but received no answer; and here matters rested until Saturday, the 5th of October, when I received information, that the ship with the stamps was come up to the town that day, and that a mob would be collected by beating muffled drums through the streets and ringing the State House and church bells muffled, which was accordingly done all the afternoon, but at two o'clock the post arrived with the mail and packet, and, among other things, my commission. This the party ventured to allege because there was a large packet for me; accordingly the mob collected, chiefly Presbyterians and proprietary emissaries, with the Chief Justice's (Mr. William Allen) son at their head, animating and encouraging the lower class.

"About three o'clock the following persons, viz.: James Tilghman, Esq.; attorney at law, Messrs. Robert Morris, Charles Thompson, Archibald McCall, John Cox, William Richards, merchants; and Mr. William Bradford, printer,—came to me, on a deputation from a great number collected at the State House, to request my resignation. I answered, it is true, I now have my commission, but as two gentlemen are bound for my performance in the sum of 5000 pounds, I could not resign unless I indemnify my bail. Altercation on this subject took up nearly an hour (low as I was): and at last they said, all that was expected of me was that I would not put the act in execution in the Province until his

Majesty's further pleasure was known, or until the act should be put in execution in the neighboring Colonies. To this I thought proper to signify some disposition to comply, because I had many informations by my friends that the mob intended to proceed to the last extremities if I did not resign. Upon this the deputation withdrew to consult their associates, and at six o'clock I received the paper (No. 5), being a peremptory demand; there the matter rested until Sunday morning, when, having recovered my spirits a little from the fatigue of that long altercation aforesaid, I looked over the paper, and found it more positive than what had been mentioned the day before, and therefore sent for Mr. Charles Thompson, one of the deputation, and asked him if they were sincere the day before; . . . because, I observed, the paper sent me did not agree with the proposition made to me. He said he was sincere and could only answer for himself. I replied: Well, gentlemen, you must look to yourselves; for this is a high affair. He made answer thus: I do not know, but I hope it will not be deemed rebellion. Indeed, sir, I know no other name for it. Well, says he, I know not how it may end, for we have not yet determined whether we will ever suffer the act to take place here or not; and took his leave. On Monday morning at ten o'clock, the whole deputation came, and I offered them the paper (No. 6); and after some consultation among themselves, they objected to their names being inserted. I said: Why, sure, gentlemen, you have not done a thing you are ashamed to own? Not in the least, they said; but there was no necessity for their names being inserted, nor would they receive that resignation. Whereupon I said to Mr. Tilghman: Come, sir, take the pen and please yourself, for I see you are determined to be arbitrary. He then took the pen and formed the paper (No. 7); and when it was transcribed, I asked them what they intended to do with the stamps, as they assumed the supreme power in the Province. They then looked at one another for a while, and seemed somewhat confused; but, at last, Mr. Tilghman replied: We did not come here prepared to speak to that head. Then another replied: Let Mr. Hughes take care of them. I answered: Gentlemen, that cannot be, as you have now fixed matters; for were I to take the stamps into my care, I should have your party come about my house and pull it down and destroy both me and them. Well, says another, let the Governor take care of them. Another then says: Perhaps the Governor will call upon Mr. Hughes to put the act into execution; and when he declines, the Governor perhaps will appoint an officer, and the act may take place. Here a general pause ensued; but at last one and all cried out: Let us see who will dare put the act in execution; upon the Governor's appointment we will take care of that. By this time the paper (No. 7) was transcribed;

and after I had signed it, they went away to proclaim it to their friends. And the next day I wrote the letter (No. 8) to the Governor, and received the under-written verbal answer by my son."

The letter to the Governor here referred to, makes inquiry in regard to the stamps, that he may report to the stamp commissioners. The verbal answer of the Governor was simply this: "Let Mr. Hughes know the stamps are on board the man-of-war."

Hughes intimates very broadly, in his correspondence with the commissioners and others, that the Governor, from some cause, evaded his sworn duty; and that he might have quelled the mob. There was evidently no good understanding between these British functionaries; and each was ready to throw the blame, of failing to enforce the law, upon the other.

Both Hughes of Pennsylvania and Ingersoll of Connecticut claimed that they had been appointed stamp-distributors on the recommendation of Dr. Franklin. It is proper to state, therefore, that that distinguished patriot was the agent of the Colonies, resident in London; and if called on by the government to designate persons to fill those places, he could not, consistently with his position, refuse to do so, much as he detested, and earnestly as he had opposed, the passage of the act.

No doubt the serious illness of Hughes saved him from a rough handling by the mob. It is evident that he made the most of his illness; and it is probable, from what took place, that he would have surrendered at the first summons if he had been pressed with vigor.

DELAWARE.

There is little to be said, under the separate head of Delaware, in regard to the enforcement of the Stamp Act. The stamp-distributor appointed for Pennsylvania was also authorized to act in that capacity for the "lower counties on the Delaware" (by which designation the Colony was known), New Castle, Kent, and Sussex. And in his agreement to suspend operations until the King should be heard from, or until the act should be enforced in the neighboring Colonies, he stipulated to observe the same rule as to Delaware.

MARYLAND.

"There was no Colony of English America," says McMahon, in his History of Maryland, "in which the claim of the inhabitants to exemption from all taxation not sanctioned by their assent was more familiar than in Maryland. It was one of the fundamental principles of their proprietary

government, incorporated with it by law in its very infancy; and it was constantly extended by its Assembly, even to every act of the proprietary administration, the indirect consequence of which was taxation. The vigilance with which its Assemblies guarded this right, and their constant assertion of it against everything which even indirectly tended to its infringement, gave to it the character of an indisputable privilege. . . .

"In investigating the history of this act, much talent has been employed, and much time and research have been expended, in determining to which of the Colonies belongs the high honor of having given the first impulse to Colonial resistance. If such attaches peculiarly to any one of the Colonies, the effort to establish its claim is worthy of all research. To have been the advance guard of liberty in the first great effort which opened the way to the establishment of the first Republic upon earth, is enough for immortality; and generous rivalry will accord it where it is due. Yet it may well be questioned whether such merit can be properly ascribed to any man or any Colony. Such pretensions must assume, as the foundation of the claim, the origination either of the principles of the opposition, or by the determination to resist, or of the means of resistance. . . . Speeches, resolves, addresses, essays, had brought the public mind to contemplate all the consequences of the proposed measure; and the spirit of resistance was already up, in the formidable shape of combinations. However suppressed that spirit might seem, and ready to submit, when there remained no alternative but open rebellion against the act, the 'master-spirits' in the Colonies knew full well that its rest was but the couching of the lion, and its silence the portentous silence that precedes the storm. Such were Henry of Virginia, and Otis of Massachusetts in the two great Colonies whose movements against the Stamp Act stand first in order and importance upon the page of history. They touched the cord of public feeling, already tremblingly alive; and they knew its response. Their Colonies went in advance of the others in the expression of these sentiments through their Assemblies; but by the early convention of the latter, after the passage of the act, accident cast upon them the first opportunity of taking the lead in opposition to it. They sounded the first notes of defiance; but these were soon echoed back by Colonies as ready, energetic, and determined in resistance as they.

"It is not our purpose nor our wish to say aught in derogation of the high claims of those patriotic Colonies, to be cherished in our remembrance as the foremost champions of Colonial liberty. Their honor is reflected upon us; and the virtues and noble bearing of their distinguished sons adorn our common history. To have been found firm and

faithful by their side 'is enough for honor.' Yet in the histories of the Colonial transactions connected with the Stamp Act, the course of Maryland seems to have been little known or understood, and she has been thrown into the rear of the other Colonies, as if she had been by them stimulated to and led on in opposition. Yet her transactions prove that she wanted no teacher, either to instruct in her rights or to prompt them to preserve them; and they exhibit a character and unanimity of opposition that is without a parallel in the history of any Colony.

"Circumstances of the moment over which she had no control prevented this Colony from expressing through, her Assembly, her opposition to this measure, not only before the act passed but also for a long period after its passage. The power to convene the Assembly resided wholly with the Governor; and upon the prorogation of it in November, 1763, its session was postponed, by repeated prorogations, until September, 1765. The Assembly was thus disabled from declaring its decided hostility to the measure at an earlier period; but its eagerness in the common cause is displayed, not only by the spirited and unanimous declaration then made, but still more forcibly by its remonstrance to the Governor for his delay in convening it at a period when its members were desirous to unite with their brethren in the other Colonies, in the protection of their common liberties. Their message is the best commentary upon the subject: 'We are truly concerned [say they in this message, 13th December, 1765] 'that the duty we owe to our constituents lays us under the indispensable necessity of observing that every power lodged in the hands of government is there intrusted by the Constitution, to be exercised for the common good. To this end hath your Excellency, as Supreme Magistrate, the power of convening and proroguing, which, we need not remark, according to the bill of rights, confirmed at the happy Revolution, ought, for redress of all grievances, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, to be held frequently. The unhappy prevalence of the smallpox, from the month of March to that of September last, rendered a convention of Assembly within that time impracticable; but we are ignorant of any reasons that could occasion the long interval from November, 1763, to last March; within which time, circumstances of a peculiar nature required a meeting of Assembly, which was prevented by prorogation. . . . Previously to this, and at the first moment of their assemblage in September, 1765, they had passed resolves against the Stamp Act, and had deputed commissioners to the general Congress. And this remonstrance is here adverted to only for the purpose of attesting that the same spirit which characterized their first Assembly proceedings after the passage of the

Stamp Act, had prevailed in the Colony from the first moment the tax was proposed.

“There were, however, other indications of public feeling which went, in advance of all the Assembly transactions, to demonstrate the general detestation of the measure by the people of Maryland. They had amongst them that admirable reflector of public sentiment, an established and well-regulated press, in the paper then conducted by Mr. Jonas Green, of Annapolis, under the name of *The Maryland Gazette*. It was established in the year 1745, and has ever since been conducted by his descendants under that name. Venerable for its antiquity, in which, it is believed, it outranks every existing paper in the United States, it is rendered still more so by its devotion to the cause of liberty, from the very origin of our struggle for emancipation. Yet flourishing in the hands of his descendants, and sustained by his worth, it has been truly an ‘evergreen.’ . . . The intimation of the Ministry’s intention to tax the Colonies was first communicated in its number of 17th May, 1764; and from that period the tenor of its publications continually indicated its hostility to the measure. Its number of the 18th April, 1765, announced the intention to suspend its publication if the melancholy and alarming accounts which had just been received, of the probable passage of the Stamp Act should prove true. Its actual passage was communicated in terms of the highest indignation; and from that period the columns of this paper were continually crowded with publications illustrative of the rights of the Colonies, and of the necessity of resistance. The operation of the act having commenced, the paper of the 10th October, 1765 was put into mourning, with the expressive motto: ‘*The Maryland Gazette* expiring in the hopes of a resurrection.’ And its publication was shortly afterwards actually suspended until the 10th of December following, when it was revived with the avowal ‘that it should be, as it had been, sacred to liberty, and consequently to virtue, religion, and the good and welfare of its country.’ These details, connected, as they are, with the history of the times, cannot be uninteresting; and they are due to one whose efforts and influence as an auxiliary in the cause of liberty were widely felt and highly estimated. His paper was a *rara avis* in that day—a government paper warring on the side of the people.

“The English Ministry displayed some policy in the selection of residents of the Colonies as officers to carry the Stamp Act into effect; but their selection proved, in the sequel, to be a decree of expatriation to those who accepted the appointment. It was peculiarly so to the person appointed as stamp-distributor in Maryland. Zachariah Hood, the person alluded to, was a native of Maryland, and, at one period, a resident merchant of Annapolis. More of his his-

tory we know not; and if the limit of the maxim be just, 'Nil de mortuis nisi bonum,' we should wish to know no more. His whole history may be summed up in one sentence—'He was a willing instrument in the hands of tyrannical Ministry, for the oppression of the people among whom he was born and lived.' His appointment was announced in a letter from London to a gentleman of Annapolis, published about the period of his arrival. 'Among the many other promotions of officers in the Colonies, [it remarks] we are credibly informed that Z——h H——d, late a sojourning merchant of the city of Annapolis, but at present Z——h H——d, Esq., of St. James', has, for his many eminent services to his King and country during the late war, got the commission of distributor of the stamps in that Province. This gentleman's conduct is highly approved of here, by all court-cringing politicians, since he is supposed to have wisely considered that, if his country must be stamped, the blow would be easier borne from a native, than a foreigner who might not be acquainted with their manners and institutions.'

"Coming under such auspices and with such purposes, his arrival at Annapolis was welcomed with those marks of distinction which it was so customary to confer upon the stamp-distributors of that day; but, fortunately for him, they were bestowed upon his effigy."

The following is the account of his reception published in Green's *Gazette* of August 29, 1765:

"Monday morning last, a considerable number of people, assertors of British-American privileges, met here to show their detestation of, and abhorrence to, some late tremendous attacks on liberty, and their dislike to a certain late-arrived officer, a native of this Province. They curiously dressed up the figure of a man, which they placed on a one-horse cart, malefactor-like, with some sheets of his paper in his hands before his face. In this manner they proceeded through the streets of town till noon, the bells at the same time tolling a solemn knell, when they proceeded to the hill; and after giving it the Mosaic law at the whipping-post, placed it in the pillory, from whence they took it and hung it to a gibbet erected for that purpose, and then set fire to a tar-barrel underneath, till it fell into the barrel. By the many significant nods of the head while in the cart, it may be said to have gone off very penitently."

The historian resumes:

"The news of his arrival soon spread through the Province; and his patriotism was honored in the same significant manner at Baltimore, Elk Ridge, Fredericktown, and other places. The character of these proceedings must not be misunderstood. They were not the heedless and ungovernable movements of tumultuous spirits, nor the wanton out-

rages of men without character. They sprung from the just and settled indignation of a whole people. They were conducted with calmness and publicity, and were promoted by men of the highest talents and character. They were not mere personal indignities offered to the unworthy instrument of the Crown, but acts of deliberate and open defiance, intended to manifest, in a manner not to be misunderstood, their determined opposition to the Stamp Act, and their abhorrence of all who lent themselves to its enforcement. Amongst those who were prominent in the proceedings at Annapolis, was the distinguished Samuel Chase, whose energies quickened all that he touched, and whose abilities illustrated all that he examined. . . .

"Hood wanted the firmness even to attempt the execution of the office which he had solicited; and the public indignation which had been lavished upon his effigy at length taking a direction towards his person, he secretly absconded from the Province early in September, 1765, and never paused in his flight until he had reached New York and had taken refuge under the cannon of Fort St. George. He was the first and last stamp-distributor of Maryland."

In a note; the author gives this further account of the stamp-distributor:

"Hood's flight was insufficient to save him from the common fate of the stamp distributors—a resignation by compulsion. He only escaped from the resentment of one Colony to be arrested by the sisterly indignation of another. Having taken up his residence on Long Island, he soon attracted the attention of the people, and the liberals at once determined (to use their own language) that, as he had by flight deprived the people of Maryland of that justice which they had a right to demand—the resignation of an office calculated to enslave them,—they would take the affair into their own hands, and either compel him to resign, or send him back to Maryland as a fugitive from justice.

"A party of volunteers accordingly assembled on the 28th of November, 1765, and surrounded the house on Long Island in which he was concealed. Escape was impossible, and poor Hood was *hooded*. He now threw himself upon their sympathies, and represented himself as one rather to be pitied than to be punished. His appeals to mercy were all unavailing; and his next attempt was at a compromise. He now desired that his word of honor might be received in lieu of his oath; and that the right might be reserved to him to hold his office if hereafter his countrymen should desire it. He was answered that, the people of Maryland having an absolute right to freedom, he must absolutely and unconditionally renounce an office which gave him power to enslave them; and that, if this were not done, he should be delivered into the hands of an exasperated multitude, and

carried back to Maryland, with labels upon him signifying his office and designs. Resistance was hopeless, and Hood yielded. As soon as his abjuration was signed, he was accompanied by upwards of one hundred gentlemen from Flushing to Jamaica, where it was regularly sworn to, and he was discharged. Like the similar abjurations of that day, it left no room for equivocation or mental reservation, and abounded with apologies and excuses utterly at variance with the feelings of the individual, and only serving to render him contemptible and harmless."

As has been stated, the General Assembly of Maryland, which met on the 23d of September, promptly appointed delegates to attend the General Congress, which was to meet in New York in October following. Strange to say, the Governor and Council concurred in this measure and in an appropriation to pay the expenses of the delegates:

"I. Resolved unanimously, That the first adventurers and settlers of this Province of Maryland brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this Province, all the liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities that at any time have been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"II. Resolved unanimously, That it was granted by Magna Charta, and other the good laws and statutes of England, and confirmed by the petition and bill of rights, that the subject should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, talliage, aid, or other like charges not set by common consent of Parliament."

Here follow extracts from the charter granted by Charles I. to Lord Baltimore, in exposition of which the Assembly further resolved, viz.:

"IV. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this House that the said charter is declaratory of the constitutional rights and privileges of the freemen of this Province.

"V. Resolved unanimously, That trials by juries are the grand bulwarks of liberty, the undoubted birthright of every Englishman, and consequently of every British subject in America; and that the erecting other jurisdictions for the trial of matters of fact is unconstitutional, and renders the subject insecure in his liberty and property.

"VI. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this House that it cannot, with any truth or propriety, be said that the freemen of this Province of Maryland are represented in the British Parliament.

"VII. Resolved unanimously, That his Majesty's liege people of this ancient Province have always enjoyed the right of being governed by laws to which they themselves have consented, in the articles of taxes and internal polity; and that the same hath never been forfeited, or any other

way yielded up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

"VIII. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this House that the representatives of the freemen of this Province, in their legislative capacity, together with the other part of the legislature, have the sole right to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of this Province, or their property and effects; and that the laying, imposing, levying, or collecting any tax on or from the inhabitants of Maryland, under color of any other authority, is unconstitutional and a direct violation of the rights of the freemen of this Province."

VIRGINIA.

Mr. Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, gives a brilliant account of the case of the people against the parsons, at Hanover Court, in which the matchless eloquence of the "forest-born orator" achieved a triumph in favor of popular rights at the expense of law. It was a question of paying the tithes in the usual way, at the rate of 1500 pounds of tobacco, for each clergyman, or in money, at a fixed price. A great rise had taken place in the market value of the article; and in consequence, in 1758, the Colonial Assembly had passed an act for compounding the tithes at about two-pence per pound, the old price, whereas the article was now worth two or three times as much. But the royal assent to this act of the Assembly having been refused, and it having been annulled, it of course had no force; and as the law stood, the parsons were entitled to receive the 1500 pounds of tobacco instead of the price in money. But in the face of this state of things, Henry induced the jury to give the clergy sixpence damages, his argument being that the people of the Colonies had the sole right to make laws for their government. This was in 1764.

In regard to the Stamp Act, Mr. Wirt says:

"This same year, 1764, is memorable for the origination of the great question which led finally to the independence of the United States. It has been said by a gentleman at least as well qualified to judge as any other now alive (Mr. Jefferson), that 'Mr. Henry certainly gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution.' In order to show the correctness of this position, it is proper to ascertain the precise point to which the controversy with Great Britain had advanced when Mr. Henry first presented himself in the character of a statesman.

"In March, 1764, the British Parliament had passed resolutions preparatory to the levying a revenue on the Colonies by a stamp tax. These resolutions were communicated to the House of Burgesses of Virginia, through their committee

of correspondence, by the colonial agent, and, having been maturely considered, resulted in the appointment of a special committee to prepare an address to the King, a memorial to the Lords, and a remonstrance to the House of Commons. On the 18th of December, 1764, these papers were reported and (after various amendments, which considerably diluted their spirit) received the concurrence of the Council. The reader will perceive on perusing them that, while they affirm, in clear and strong terms, the constitutional exemption of the Colony from taxation by the British Parliament, they breathe, nevertheless, a tone so suppliant, and exhibit such a picture of anticipated suffering from the pressure of the tax on the exhausted resources of the Colony, as to indicate that no opposition beyond remonstrance was at this time meditated."

Patrick Henry entered the Virginia House of Burgesses on the 20th day of May, 1765. Having waited in vain some time for some of the older members to take the lead in opposition to the Stamp Act, he, although within three days of the close of the session, introduced his celebrated resolutions. Mr. Wirt says: "I will not withhold from the reader a note of this transaction from the pen of Mr. Henry himself. It is a curiosity, and highly worthy of preservation. After his death, there was found among his papers one sealed and thus indorsed: 'Inclosed are the resolutions of the Virginia Assembly in 1765 concerning the Stamp Act. Let my executors open this paper.' Within was found the following copy of the resolutions in Mr. Henry's handwriting:

"*Resolved*, That the first adventurers and settlers of this his Majesty's Colony and dominion, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity and all other his Majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this his Majesty's said Colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"*Resolved*, That by two royal charters granted by King James the First, the Colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural-born subjects to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"*Resolved*, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient Constitution cannot subsist:

"*Resolved*, That his Majesty's liege people of this most ancient Colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of

their taxes and internal polity; and the same hath never been forfeited or any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

“*Resolved*, That the General Assembly of this Colony have the sole right and power to levy taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever other than the General Assembly aforesaid has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.”

On the back of the paper containing these resolutions is the following indorsement, which is also in the handwriting of Mr. Henry himself: “The within resolutions in May, 1765. They formed the first opposition to the Stamp Act and the scheme of taxing America by the British Parliament.”

Mr. Henry left town for home on the day that the resolutions were adopted—the last of the series by a majority of one vote; and the next day, the opposite party, taking advantage of his absence, voted to expunge the last resolution from the journals. Burke, in his *History of Virginia*, gives six resolutions with a preamble; but Mr. Wirt expresses the confident opinion, in which he is sustained by Mr. Jefferson and by Mr. Paul Carrington, both of whom were present, that Burke’s version, taken from “Prior Documents,” is not genuine. He also regards the speech which Burke puts into the mouth of Henry as spurious. However this may be, the speech, at any rate, is very fine, and worthy of Henry’s genius. It was on this occasion that Henry “entered into an historical enumeration of those examples of successful resistance to oppression which rendered glorious the annals of Rome and England, and concluded with this dreadful warning, which, connected with its subsequent fulfilment, seemed like the inspiration of prophecy:” ‘Cæsar,’ said he, ‘had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and [pausing] George the Third’ (here a cry of “Treason! treason!” was heard, supposed to issue from the chair; but with admirable presence of mind he proceeded) ‘may profit by their examples. Sir, if this be treason, make the most of it.’”

The following account of the disposition made of the stamp-distributor of Virginia is from Martin’s *History of North Carolina*. Burke, the historian of Virginia, seems to have overlooked the affair entirely:

“On the last week of October [says Martin] George Mercer, distributor of stamps for the Province of Virginia, landed at Hampton. He met with some rude treatment from the mob, who, by the interposition of some influential gentlemen, were prevailed on to disperse without any ill consequences following. When he arrived in Williamsburg, as he was walking towards the capitol, on his way to the

Governor's, he was accosted by a number of gentlemen from different parts of the Province (the General Court being then sitting), who insisted on his immediately satisfying the company, which was constantly increasing, whether he intended to enter on the duties of his office. Seeing himself completely surrounded, he answered that any reply he might then make would be attributed to fear, and begged to be allowed to wait on the Governor and Council in order to obtain correct information of the sentiments of the Colony, and afterwards meet his countrymen and give them an answer. This seemed to give satisfaction, and he was accompanied to the coffee-house where the Governor, most of the Council, and a great number of other gentlemen were assembled. The crowd in the mean while increased, and, growing impatient, insisted upon a more speedy and satisfactory answer, declaring they would not disperse till it was obtained; upon which, George Mercer, coming forward and promising a categorical answer by five o'clock the next evening, he met with no further molestation.

"At the time appointed, he was met at the capitol by a vast concourse of people, among whom were the principal merchants in the Colony, when a committee chosen for the purpose informed him he was then to look upon himself as in the presence of the Colony, and demanded the answer he had on the preceding day promised them. He then addressed the meeting in a speech of considerable length, and concluded he would have been glad to have had it in his power to have acted in such a manner as would have justified him to his friends and countrymen in the Province, and to the persons from whom he derived his appointment; but the time allowed to him was so short that he had not been able to discover that happy medium. He therefore entreated the gentlemen present to be referred to his future conduct, with his assurance that he would not, directly or indirectly, by himself or his deputies, proceed in the execution of the act until he received further orders from England, and not then without the assent of the General Assembly of the Province. This declaration gave so general a satisfaction that he was immediately borne out of the capitol gate amid the acclamations of all persons present, and carried to the coffee-house, where an elegant entertainment was provided. On his arrival, the acclamations redoubled, drums beat, French horns and other musical instruments sounding. At night, the bells were set a-ringing, and the whole town illuminated."

NORTH CAROLINA.

The following account of the reception which the Stamp Act met with in North Carolina is taken from Martin's His-

tory of the State. As has been stated in another place, the Lieutenant-governor, in anticipation of what the action of the Assembly would be, judging from the tone of public feeling, prorogued that body from the 18th of May, until the 30th of November, 1765, and again till March 12, 1766. The Colony was thus precluded from participating, by its delegates, in the General Congress, which was first proposed by Massachusetts in June, and which met in New York in October. But this strategy did not prevent the people from giving expressions to their sentiments, nor, when the stamps arrived, from making a summary disposition of them. Martin says that,—

“Meetings of the inhabitants of the towns of Edenton, Newbern, and Wilmington were called, and, in each, resolutions were entered [into] expressing their utter abhorrence of the late measures of the British Parliament and a hearty concurrence with the sentiments expressed by the inhabitants of the Northern Provinces.

“In the Province of North Carolina, the people at all their public meetings manifested their high approbation of the proceedings of the inhabitants of the other Provinces; and Lieutenant-governor Tryon, judging from the temper of the people that it would be unsafe and dangerous to allow them the opportunity of expressing their feelings by allowing a session of the legislative body in these days of ferment, on the 25th of October issued his proclamation to prorogue the General Assembly, which was to have met on the 30th of November, till the 12th of March, assigning, as a reason for this step, that there appeared to be no immediate necessity for their meeting at that time.

“Early in the year [1766], the sloop-of-war the Diligence arrived in the Cape Fear, having on board the stamp paper destined for the use of the Province; and on the 6th of January, the Governor issued a proclamation announcing this circumstance and calling on all persons, authorized to act as distributors of the stamps, to make application therefor to the commander of the sloop. But on the first notice of the approach of this vessel, Colonel John Ashe, of the County of New Hanover, and Colonel Waddell of the County of Brunswick, having embodied the militia of those counties, marched at the head of them to the town of Brunswick, before which she was anchored, and notified the commander of their determination to resist the landing of the stamps. It was judged best not to make the attempt. A party was left to watch the motions of the sloop, and the rest of the small army marched to the town of Wilmington, carrying with them one of her boats. Having fixed a mast in her with a flag, they hoisted her on a cart and drove triumphantly

through the streets, the inhabitants all joining in the procession; at night the town was illuminated. On the next day a great concourse of people, headed by Colonel Ashe, proceeded to the Governor's house and demanded to speak with James Houston, one of the Council, who had been appointed stampmaster for the Province. The Governor at first declared his intention not to allow it unless Houston would come willingly; but the people threatened to set fire to the house, and proceeded to make preparations therefor. The Governor desired the colonel to step in and talk with the stampmaster, who, finding that he could not act in his office without rendering himself obnoxious to the people, voluntarily accompanied the colonel to the street, and, followed by a great concourse of people, proceeded to the market-place, where he took a solemn oath not to proceed on the duties of his office. On which the people gave three cheers and conducted him back to the Governor's."

In this opposition to the Stamp Act, the people of North Carolina were simply acting in harmony with universal sentiment of the other Colonists. But another grievance of a local character was productive of far more serious consequences, and was attended with immeasurably greater oppression than would have followed the enforcement of the Stamp Act.

The Regulation War.

There are not many persons outside of North Carolina who are aware that the people of that Colony rebelled against the corrupt tyranny of the Colonial Government, and fought a battle in defence of their rights as early as May, 1771. The Colonial Governments were all what in modern phrase would be styled "Carpet-bag" governments. The high officers, without exception, were either sent over from England or selected by the Crown with reference to their unquestioning devotion or obedience to the appointing power. Some of them turned out to be men of honor and character; but the rule was that they were corrupt, profligate, and tyrannical—the willing instruments of an arbitrary King and Parliament. Even the best of them were as scrupulous in maintaining and advancing the Colonial policy of the Tory Government of Great Britain as they were in administering the laws. Whoever from whatever cause has "despaired of the Republic," and begun to regret the separation from the mother-country as a mistake of our ancestors, would do well to study carefully the Colonial history of the several States. He will not fail to find that whether in the New England, or in the Middle, or in the Southern Colonies, there was the same indifference manifested by the British authorities to the rights and welfare of the Colonies; the same Parliamentary and royal interference, not for the good of

the Colonists, but for the profit of British proprietors of liberal grants of Colonial lands; of British merchants trading with America; and of British profligates sent out here to enrich themselves by the maladministration of American affairs. The case against the mother-country is no less strong than it was so eloquently stated by Colonel Barre, in the House of Commons in 1766. When Charles Townsend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked the question, "Will our American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from our burdens?" Barre indignantly replied: "They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to an uncultivated, inhospitable country; where they exposed themselves to almost every hardship, and to the cruelties of the savage foe. They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect; your care for them was to send persons to rule them: deputies of deputies to some members of this House sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. Amidst their constant and laborious industry, they have defended a country whose frontiers were drenched in blood, while its interior settlements yielded all their little savings to your emoluments."

It is not creditable to the earlier historians of North Carolina, Williamson and Martin, that they belittle the grievances of the people which led to the revolt of the Regulators, and take sides with their oppressors. But later writers, without exception, after more thorough investigation, regard the maladministration of the Colonial Government as fully justifying the attempts of the people to reform it. The nature of this misgovernment was mainly though not entirely administrative. It consisted in the corrupt and tyrannical conduct of the county officers, the clerks and registers of courts, the sheriffs and their deputies, and the justices of peace, who, following the example of England, were empowered to hold courts of pleas and quarter-sessions for the several counties, in addition to their ordinary duties as conservators of the peace. The judges of the superior courts even, were charged with taking sides with the administrative officers, while the bar was charged with extortion, and the exaction of illegal fees. This unhappy state of things existed to a greater or less degree, in nearly all the middle and upper countries, in which the class of yeomanry was most numerous, and where there were few of the wealthy and educated gentry. In the lower counties, where the latter class gave tone to society, official and pettifogging knavery could not have been successfully practised, but the ignorant and humble class of farmers who inhabited

the hill country were long the helpless though not complaining victims of the sharpers, until forbearance ceased to be a virtue. The result was that combinations were formed for their mutual protection, first by petition and remonstrance, and at length by forcible resistance of the illegal demands upon them. These combinations were spontaneous in the several counties, without concert between the inhabitants of different localities. Indeed, similar grievances existed in other Colonies about the same time; and particularly in New Jersey and Maryland. In the former at least, the people made violent resistance to their knavish oppressors.

It is unfortunate that Governor Tryon had the influence and address to enlist in his support on this occasion the leading gentleman of the low country, especially those about Wilmington—the very men who had been foremost in the nullification of the Stamp Act, and who were afterwards among the foremost Whig patriots of the Colony during the Revolution. The consequence was that perhaps a majority of those who had struggled and fought for Colonial rights from 1767 to 1771 became Tories and took up arms for the Crown. As has been explained above, the Regulators were for the most part plain, uneducated farmers. There were exceptions to this rule, however; and among them General Thomas Person, of Granville, who was a distinguished patriot of the Revolution. If he had been joined by the gentlemen of the low country who took the other side, there can be little doubt that the Regulators would have succeeded in repressing their grievances without bloodshed; and that Tryon would have taken sides with the people, instead of that of their oppressors.

The leader in the organized opposition and resistance to the extortions of the officials was Herman Husbands, a Pennsylvanian by birth, and a disciple of Fox and Penn by education. His residence was in Randolph County. His literary acquirements were very limited, as is apparent from his meagre and unsatisfactory history of the Regulation; but there is abundant evidence that he possessed a sound, shrewd understanding; while his reputation among his neighbors was that of an honest man. His religious principles naturally inclined him to peace, but the manifold irritations and oppressions he endured, coupled with an aptitude and taste for popular leadership, gradually seduced him into the use of "carnal weapons." Their quarrel, the people said, was not with the form of Government nor with the laws; but with the conduct of the inferior officers, in administering them. This was the statement of the Granville people, quoted by Husbands, and adopted for those of Orange. The attorneys, it was alleged, exacted twice the amount of the tax fees in the most insignificant cases; and if any litiga-

tion or contest arose in a case, the fees demanded equalled the value of the claim. The clerks of court multiplied and ran up bills of fees many times greater than the laws allowed; the sheriffs did likewise, and poor men standing alone had no redress. Hence the combinations, for the purpose of remonstrating with the officers, and, that failing, petitioning the Governor. Even these invaluable privileges were denied, and meetings of the people held for such purposes were declared to be seditious.

The people complained that the taxes were exorbitantly high. The Colonists were poor; money was extremely scarce; and in that day, the facilities for transportation over rough natural roads to distant markets were primitive. It was under such circumstances that Tryon induced the Assembly to appropriate fifteen thousand pounds sterling (equal to seventy-five thousand dollars) for the erection of a Governor's house, or palace, as it was styled, at Newbern. This "palace" was at the time said to be the most stately residence in America—a fact of itself which characterizes the man, and the class to which he belonged, as recklessly indifferent to the welfare of the people over whom he was sent to rule without their consent. This extravagant style of expenditure, in connection with the embezzlement of county and colonial funds, and the extortion of the officials, was well calculated to awaken a spirit of disaffection among the people.

Repeated attempts were made to obtain redress by indicting the clerks and other officers who had been guilty of extortion; and when they were found guilty in form by packed juries, the damage assessed was sixpence. At length the people, in their exasperation, began forcibly to resist the enforcement of legal process, and to release their friends from the hands of the sheriffs. They also demanded an exhibit from the collectors of taxes, of their accounts and of the laws under which they acted. Large public meetings were held for this purpose, from which deputations were sent to the officers, asking an explanation on these points. No definite or satisfactory answer could be obtained; and after repeated efforts of this nature, there was an agreement to refuse the payment of taxes. Arrests and rescues followed; and armed collisions with the authorities, amounting to war, was the result.

Tryon raised a force of several hundred men in the spring of 1771, and marched to the Enoe, near Hillsborough, in Orange County. On the way to that point he received reinforcements from various quarters. The regulators, mustered by the activity of Husbonds, are computed at not less than two thousand, without discipline, without organization even. One half of this rabble was poorly armed and equipped, with only a round or two of ammunition. There

was skirmishing for a day or two, with varied success. But on the 15th of May, the two parties approached within a few miles of each other, near the Alamance Creek, in what is now a county of that name, but then in the southwest part of Orange. There was no stomach for the fight on either side; and the first day was spent in parleying. On the 16th the two forces met face to face; and then it was not without difficulty that Tryon, having summoned the rebels to surrender, and being answered with defiance, could induce his troops to fire on the mob. He succeeded at length, however, and a fight of some hours ensued. Tryon's force was organized into companies and battalions, well armed, and in some degree disciplined. He had also the advantage of having nearly all the best-trained officers in the Province on his side; while the regulators had no officer higher than the grade of captain who had ever seen service, and only two of these. A triumph of the government forces was a matter of course, with a loss of nine killed and sixty wounded, against a loss by the regulators of twenty killed and a number wound. The mob of regulators took to flight. Only about a dozen were made prisoners, of whom seven were executed—one of them a religious maniac. This was Captain Few, who was, on Tryon's order, without a trial, hung on a tree on the evening of the battle. The murder of this unfortunate man was followed in a few days by the trial of the other prisoners by a court of oyer and terminer, all of whom were condemned to death for high treason, and six of them executed.

Thus ended the war of the Regulation. It was a genuine struggle for liberty, and deserves to have a place among the events in the history of British rule in America, which led to the Revolution.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Rumors of the arrival of the stamp paper having reached Charleston, the Assembly of the Colony addressed a letter to Lieutenant-governor Bull, inquiring if such were the fact; and if he were authorized to put the law in force. He replied in the affirmative, and that he received the act, and the power under it, from the Governor of the Province, Boone, who was then on a visit to England. The Assembly, in reply, took exception to the channel through which the law came to the Province, the Governor when abroad, they held, having no more authority than a private citizen. The Assembly came to the following resolutions on the subject:

“Resolved, That his Majesty's subjects in Carolina owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is due from his subjects there. That his Majesty's liege sub-

jects of this Province are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain. That the inhabitants of this Province appear also to be confirmed in all the rights aforementioned, not only by their charter, but by an act of Parliament, 13th George II. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent. That the people of this Province are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain; and, further, that, in the opinion of this House, the several powers of legislation in America were constituted in some measure upon the apprehension of this impracticability. That the only representatives of the people of this Province are persons chosen therein by themselves; and that no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by the legislature of this Province. That all supplies to the Crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable, and inconsistent with the spirit of the British Constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of the people of this Province. That an act of Parliament entitled an 'Act for Granting and Applying Certain Stamp Duties on the British Colonies and Plantations in America,' etc., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of this Province, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of this Province. That the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament on the people of this Province will be extremely burdensome and grievous, and, from the scarcity of gold and silver, the payment of them absolutely impracticable. That, as the profits of the trade of the people of this Province ultimately centre in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures they are obliged to take from thence they eventually contribute very largely to all the supplies granted to the Crown, etc."

"Having thus expressed their sentiments," says Drayton, "the commons House of Assembly appointed Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and John Rutledge, a committee to meet the committee from other Provinces at New York, in October following. . . .

"While these matters were carrying on, the stamped papers arrived in the various seaports of the Colonies, and greatly excited the feelings of the people. At this time a sloop-of-war had arrived in Charleston harbor, with a portion of them, casting anchor under the cover of the cannon of Fort Johnson; and a meeting of the citizens was effected to devise means for preventing the landing of the same. The garrison of Fort Johnson was known to consist only of

a commandant, a gunner, and twelve or fourteen privates; and Lloyd, the commandant, mostly resided in Charleston; hence the command and care of the fort frequently devolved on the gunner. These things being considered, the meeting thought proper to appoint a committee for further purposes, and Daniel Cannon, William Williamson, Edward Weyman, and others were nominated members of the same; who, understanding sufficiently the motives of their appointment and the wishes of the meeting, entered zealously on their duties respecting the matters they had in charge.

“Whether the government was informed of these measures is not ascertained; but the public ferment was known to be so great, it was deemed advisable not to bring the stamped papers up to Charleston, but to land them at Fort Johnson. The committee soon received information of this proceeding; and a private meeting of confidential citizens being called, it was resolved, the committee be authorized to obtain the stamped paper so deposited at the fort, and, to furnish the means of doing so, that a body of volunteers should be selected and procured by them with the utmost promptness and success. Accordingly, about one hundred and fifty volunteers were soon organized and armed for the purpose; and two nights after, boats being provided at Lamboll’s Bridge, on the West and South Bay, they formed and marched towards that place for embarkation. From thence, they proceeded in boats across Ashley River; and landed at twelve o’clock at night, on James’ Island, between Styles’ plantation and the fort. They then proceeded towards the fort; and halting at a small distance from it, a reconnoitering party was sent forward. This party proceeded to the drawbridge unnoticed or unchallenged by sentries, and, finding it down, through the omission of the garrison, they immediately returned and reported the same. The whole body of volunteers then advanced upon the fort; and arriving at the bridge, they crossed it without opposition, pressed through the main gate, which was not secured, and immediately possessed themselves of the fort. Only one soldier was found awake; and before he could give the alarm, the remainder of the garrison was secured except Governor Lloyd, [the commander was so called,] who had not slept there that night. The garrison were then placed under guard, the bridge was drawn up, and a search commenced for the obnoxious stamped paper. This, to the great joy of the volunteers, was at length found in one of the rooms of the barracks, and a guard was placed over it. Preparations were then made for maintaining the fort against any attack which might be made upon it by the sloop-of-war when daylight should arrive; and for this purpose the cannon on the platforms were loaded with ball and grape-shot; matches were prepared, and a number of

men were stationed at each gun; and a flag showing a blue field with three white crescents, which the volunteers had brought with them for the purpose, was hoisted on the flag-staff of the fort. When daylight appeared, the crescent banner waved gayly on the wind, and soon attracted the attention of the sloop-of-war. A boat was then despatched from her to ascertain the cause of so unusual a display, and persons were sent from the fort to meet the boat at the landing-place, where, on the landing of the British officer, he inquired the meaning of the flag; on which he was invited into the fort, and was told he would then be informed. At first he appeared doubtful whether he should proceed; but on being assured protection, and that he would be allowed to return to his boat, he accepted of the invitation. On his arrival in the fort, he was taken along the platforms, where he found each gun manned and loaded, and the fort prepared for action; he was also shown the late garrison under a guard as prisoners. When the impression had been made upon him which was intended, he was told it was the fixed determination of the volunteers to proceed to burn all the stamped paper which they had seized unless the commanding officer would pledge his honor immediately to receive it on board and forthwith depart with it. It was further intimated to him, that if the sloop should fire on the fort, they were resolved to repel force by force; and to these matters an answer was requested from the sloop-of-war as soon as possible. The officer then took his leave, and returned in the boat. In two hours he returned with the boats of the sloop, saying his commander would receive the stamped papers and forthwith depart, when they were delivered to him; and, returning with them to the sloop, she weighed anchor in the afternoon and proceeded to sea. The object of the expedition being so happily effected, the garrison were released from confinement and put in possession of the fort; and the volunteers returned with their colors to Charleston, by the same way in which they had proceeded, having fulfilled the wishes and expectations of their fellow-citizens, without injuring or hurting any person whatsoever."

* This bold enterprise ended the attempt to enforce the Stamp Act in South Carolina. A suspicion was awakened in the minds of some, that certain of the officials were in possession of stamped paper, and that they only waited for the excitement to subside, when they would attempt to use the stamps. The result was that their houses were searched by the mob, not in the most delicate way, but no stamps were found; and the public mind then quieted down.

GEORGIA.

From Stevens' History of Georgia.

"As soon as Mr. Wyly, the speaker of the commons House of Assembly, received the letter (from Massachusetts), he despatched expresses to the members, and sixteen members—nearly two thirds of the entire number—responded to his call, by convening in Savannah on the 2d of September, 1765. This body replied to the Massachusetts resolutions by a letter intimating their hearty co-operation in every measure for the support of their common rights; but through the influence of Governor Wright, they were prevented from sending delegates to the proposed Congress (at New York)."

"On the 5th of December (1765), his Majesty's ship *Speedwell*, Captain Fanshawe, with the stamps, arrived in the river, and the papers were secretly transferred to Fort Halifax, and placed under the care of the commissary; for the 'Liberty Boys,' as they were then termed, had entered into an association to prevent the distribution of the papers, and to compel the officer to resign as soon as he arrived. To oppose these measures, Governor Wright summoned all his energies, and labored day and night, in public and in private, and, by his commanding influence, ably seconded by his Council, was partially successful. Secret meetings, however, were often held, all business was stopped, and the Province remained in a state of anxious agitation. . . .

"On the 2d of January, 1766, about 3 P.M., Captains Milledge and Powell informed the Governor that nearly two hundred Liberty Boys had assembled together, threatening to break open the fort and destroy the papers. The Governor immediately ordered the two companies of rangers, numbering fifty-four men, to attend him, and marched on the fort, took out the stamps, placed them in a cart, and, escorted by the military, conveyed them to the guard-house. The people looked on in sullen silence, which gave the Governor so much alarm that for many days he kept a guard of forty men over his house, and during four nights was in such anxiety and fear that he did not remove his clothes."

The next day (January 3d), the Governor was informed of the arrival of Mr. Angus, the stamp-distributor, at Tybee, and took precautions to have him brought in great secrecy up to Savannah, where he was quartered in the Governor's residence. But even in that retreat, guarded by soldiers, the stamp-distributor felt insecure, and in a fortnight left the town. The whole Province sympathized with the people of Savannah; and toward the close of January, six hundred men assembled within a few miles of the town, and informed the Governor that, unless the stamps were removed,

they would march into the town, destroy the fort and his dwelling, as well as the stamps. He accordingly sent the stamps down to Fort George, at Cockspur Island, under charge of the rangers. "But even this was not deemed sufficient security; and on the 3d of February they were once more removed, and deposited on board the man-of-war *Speedwell*, which had brought them to the Colony."

A riotous meeting took place, at which the Governor was burned in effigy.

There being some sixty vessels in the harbor, the resolution of the people was so far overcome by the private interest of the merchants as to admit of the sale of stamps necessary to secure clearances. But the courts were entirely closed and all legal transactions suspended. The relaxation, as it regarded the shipping interest, however, created great indignation in South Carolina.

CHAPTER II.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN REGARD TO MASSACHUSETTS.

In the House of Lords, December 15, 1768, a series of resolutions were adopted with reference to the condition of affairs in Massachusetts Bay. It was resolved that the resolutions and proceedings of the Massachusetts Assembly which deny the right of Parliament to pass laws that bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever "are illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain."

"That the resolution of the House of Representatives of that Province, to write letters to the several Houses of Representatives, of the British Colonies desiring them to join in petitions, which deny or draw in question the right of Parliament to impose duties or taxes on his Majesty's subjects in America, 'are proceedings of the most unwarrantable and dangerous nature, calculated to inflame the minds of his Majesty's subjects in the other Colonies, tending to create unlawful combinations, repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, and subversive of the Constitution.

"That the town of Boston has for some time past been in a state of great disorder and confusion, and been disturbed by riot and tumults. That neither the Council of the Province nor the civil magistrates did exert their authority for suppressing the riots and tumults.

"That the preservation of the public peace became impracticable without the aid of a military force to support the civil magistrates and the officers of the revenue.

"That the resolutions and proceedings of the town meet-

ings in Boston on the 14th of June and 12th of September 'were illegal and unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrections in his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay.'

"That the appointment, at the town meeting on the 12th of September, of a convention to be held in the town of Boston on the 22d of that month, to consist of deputies from the several towns and districts in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and the issuing a precept by the select-men of the town of Boston to each of the said towns and districts, for the election of said deputies, were proceedings subversive of his Majesty's government, and evidently manifesting a design in the inhabitants of the said town of Boston to set up a new and unconstitutional authority independent of the Crown of Great Britain.

"That the elections by the several towns and districts, of deputies to sit in the said convention, and the meeting of such convention, 'were daring insults offered to his Majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government.'

These resolutions were adopted by the House of Commons, with slight verbal amendments. The address agreed to by the Lords was also adopted by the Commons with a single verbal change. As agreed to by both Houses and sent up to the King, it is as follows:

"And the Duke of Bedford reported from the committee an address, drawn by them, as follows:

"'MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

"'We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords, spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble thanks for the communication your Majesty has been graciously pleased to make to your Parliament of several papers relative to public transactions in your Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay.

"We beg leave to express to your Majesty our sincere satisfaction in the measures which your Majesty has pursued for supporting the Constitution and for inducing a due obedience to the authority of the Legislature; and to give your Majesty the strongest assurances that we will effectually stand by and support your Majesty in such further measures as may be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws within your Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay; and as we conceive that nothing can be more immediately necessary, either for the maintenance of your Majesty's authority in the said Province, or for guarding your Majesty's subjects therein from being further deluded by the arts of wicked and designing men than to proceed in the most speedy and effectual manner for bringing to condign punishment the

chief authors and instigators of the late disorders,—we most humbly beseech your Majesty that you will be graciously pleased to direct your Majesty's Governor of Massachusetts Bay to take the most effectual methods for securing the fullest information that can be obtained touching all treasons or misprissions of treason committed within his Government since the thirtieth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State in order that your Majesty may issue a special commission for inquiry of, hearing, and determining the said offences, within this realm, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth in case your Majesty shall, upon receiving the said information, see sufficient ground for such a proceeding.' ”

The following is the Act of 35th Henry VIII. referred to in the foregoing proceedings:

“ Cap. 11.

“ An act for the trial of treasons committed out of the King's dominions (35th Henry VIII. 1543).

“ I. Forasmuch as some doubts and questions have been moved that certain kinds of treasons, misprisons, and concealments of treasons done, perpetrated, or committed out of the King's Majesty's realm of England, and other his Grace's dominions cannot, nor may by the common laws of this realm, be inquired of, heard, and determined within this his said realm of England: (2) for a plain remedy, order, and declaration therein to be had and made, be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, That all manner of offences, being already made and declared, or hereafter to be made or declared, by any of the laws and statutes of this realm to be treasons, misprisons of treasons or concealments of treasons, and done, perpetrated, or committed, or hereafter to be done, perpetrated, or committed by any person or persons out of this realm of England, shall be from henceforth inquired of, heard, and determined before the King's Justices of his Bench for pleas to be holden before himself, by good and lawful men of the same shire where the said bench shall sit and be kept; (3) or else before such commissioners, and in such shire of the realm, as shall be assigned by the King's Majesty's Commission, and by good and lawful men of the same shire, in like manner and form, to all intents and purposes, as if such treasons, misprisons of treasons, or concealments of treasons had been done, perpetrated, and committed within the same shire where

they shall be so inquired of, heard, and determined, as is aforesaid.

"II. Provided always, That if any of the peers of this realm shall happen to be indicted of any such treasons, or other offences aforesaid, by the authority of this act, that then after such indictment, they shall have their trial by their peers in such like manner and form as hath heretofore been accustomed.

"House of Lords.

"Tuesday, February 7, 1775.

"A message was brought from the House of Commons by the Lord George Germaine and others, to desire a conference with this House upon the state of his Majesty's Colonies in North America. To which the House agreed. The messengers were again called in and told 'that the Lords agree to a conference, as is desired, and appoint the same presently in the Painted Chamber.'

"The House being informed 'that the managers for the Commons were ready for the conference in the Painted Chamber.'

"The names of the managers for the Lords were called over, and the House was adjourned during pleasure and the Lords went to the conference;

"Which being ended, the House resumed, and the Lord President reported 'that they had met the managers for the Commons at the conference,' which, on the part of the Commons, was managed by the Lord North; who acquainted the managers for the Lords 'that they, having taken into their consideration the state of his Majesty's Colonies in North America, have agreed upon an address to be presented to his Majesty,' to which they desire the concurrence of this House. Then his Lordship read the address delivered at the said conference as follows:

"**MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:**

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the . . . Commons, in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our most humble thanks for having been graciously pleased to communicate to us the several papers relating to the present state of the British Colonies in America, which by your Majesty's command have been laid before us. We have taken them into our most serious consideration, and we find that a part of your Majesty's subjects in the Province of Massachusetts Bay have proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the Supreme Legislature; that a rebellion at this time actually exists within the said Province; and we see with the utmost concern that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by your Majesty's subjects in

several of the other Colonies to the injury and oppression of many of their innocent fellow-subjects resident within the kingdom of Great Britain and the rest of your Majesty's dominions. This conduct on their part appears to us the more inexcusable when we consider with how much temper your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament have acted in support of the laws and constitution of Great Britain. We can never so far desert the trust reposed in us as to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority over all your Majesty's dominions, which, by law, is vested in your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament; and the conduct of many persons in several of the Colonies during the late disturbances is alone sufficient to convince us how necessary the power is for the protection of the lives and fortunes of all your Majesty's subjects.

“We ever have been and always shall be ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of any of your Majesty's subjects which shall in a dutiful and constitutional manner be laid before us; and whenever any of the Colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence. At the same time we consider it as our indispensable duty humbly to beseech your Majesty that you will take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legislature; and we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to assure your Majesty that it is our fixed resolution, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to stand by your Majesty against all rebellious attempts in the maintenance of the just rights of your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament.”

Copy of a resolution of the House of Commons, 27th February, 1775, inclosed by the Earl of Dartmouth, in his circular-letter to the Governors of the Colonies, dated March 3, 1775:

“Resolved, That when the Governor, Council, and Assembly, or General Court of any of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies in America shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such Province or Colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court or General Assembly of such Province or Colony, and disposable by Parliament), and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in such Province or Colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such Province or Colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except

only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such Province or Colony respectively."

Letter of John Pownall, Secretary to the Board of Trade, to the Governors of the several Colonies in North America:

"WHITEHALL, April 5, 1775.

"SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith, by Lord Dartmouth's directions, an act of Parliament to which his Majesty gave the royal assent on Friday last, entitled, 'An act to restrain the trade and commerce of the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit such Provinces and Colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland or other places therein mentioned, under certain conditions and limitations,' and I am to desire that you be pleased to cause the said act to be made public in such manner as has been usual on like occasions.

"I am, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

"JOHN POWNALL."

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

"*Proceedings of the Congress held at Philadelphia.*

"September 5, 1774.

"A NUMBER of the delegates chosen and appointed by the several Colonies and Provinces in North America, to meet and hold a Congress at Philadelphia, assembled at the Carpenter's Hall.

"Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1774, 10 o'clock A.M.

"The Congress met according to adjournment.

"Present—The same members as yesterday, and moreover, from the Colony of Virginia, Richard Henry Lee, Esq.

"The Congress resuming the consideration of rules of conduct to be observed in debating and determining the questions that come under consideration,—

"Resolved, That in determining questions in this Congress each Colony or Province shall have one vote, the Congress not being possessed of or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each Colony.

"Resolved, That no person shall speak more than twice on the same point without leave of the Congress.

"Resolved, That no question shall be determined the day on which it is agitated and debated if any one of the Colonies desires the determination postponed to another day.

"Resolved, That the doors be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor to keep the proceedings secret until the majority shall direct them to be made public.

"Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed to state the rights of the Colonies in general, the several instances in which these rights are violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them.

"Ordered, That the appointment of the committee and the number of which it shall consist be deferred until to-morrow.

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to examine, and report the several statutes which affect the trade and manufactures of the Colonies. Same order as above respecting the appointment and number of this committee.

"Resolved, That the Rev. Mr. Duché, be desired to open the Congress to-morrow morning, with prayers, at the Carpenter's Hall, at 9 o'clock.

"Adjourned to 5 o'clock this afternoon.

"Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1774.

"The Congress met according to adjournment.

"William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, Esqrs., two of the deputies from North Carolina, attended the Congress and produced their credentials. Henry Wisner, a delegate from the county of Orange, in the Colony of New York, appeared at Congress and produced a certificate of his election by the said county, which, being read and approved, he took his seat in Congress as a deputy for the Colony of New York.

George Ross, Esq., one of the delegates for the Province of Pennsylvania, and John Alsop, Esq., one of the delegates for the Colony of New York, appeared and took their seats in Congress.

"The delegates from the Province of Massachusetts Bay, agreeable to a request from the joint committees of every town and district in the county of Middlesex in the said Province, communicated to the Congress the proceedings of those committees at Concord, on the 30th and 31st days of August last, which were read.

"Adjourned till to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

"Saturday, Sept. 17, 1774, A.M.

"The Congress met according to adjournment.

"Richard Caswell, Esq., one of the deputies from North Carolina, appeared and took his seat in Congress.

"The resolutions entered into by the delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, on Tuesday the 6th instant, and their address to his Excellency, Governor Gage, dated the 9th instant, were laid before the Congress.

"The Congress taking the foregoing resolutions into consideration:

"Resolved, unanimously, That this assembly deeply feels the suffering of their countrymen in the Massachusetts Bay, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British Parliament; that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct as expressed in the resolutions determined upon at a meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk on Tuesday the 6th instant, trusting that the effect of the united efforts of North America in their behalf, will carry such conviction to the British nation of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures.

"Resolved unanimously, That contributions from all the Colonies for supplying the necessities and alleviating the distresses of our brethren at Boston, ought to be continued in such manner, and so long as their occasions may require.

"Ordered, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to Boston by the President.

"Ordered, That these resolutions, together with the resolutions of the county of Suffolk, be published in the newspapers.

"The committee appointed to examine and report the several statutes which affect the trade and manufactures of the Colonies brought in their report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

"Adjourned till Monday morning.

"Thursday, Sept. 22, 1774.

"The Congress met according to adjournment.

"Upon motion,

"Resolved unanimously, That the Congress request the merchants and others in the several Colonies not to send to Great Britain any orders for goods, and to direct the execution of all orders already sent, to be delayed or suspended, until the sense of the Congress on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America is made public.

"Ordered, That this resolution be made public by hand-bills, and by publishing it in the newspapers.

"The committee appointed to state the rights of the Colonies, etc., having brought in a report of the rights, the same

was read, and the consideration of it deferred till Saturday next.

“Ordered, That a copy of this report be made for each Colony.

“Saturday, Sept. 24, 1774, A.M.

“The Congress entered upon the consideration of the report referred to this day, and, after some debate, upon motion,

“Resolved, That the Congress do confine themselves at present to the consideration of such rights only as have been infringed by acts of the British Parliament since the year 1763, postponing the further consideration of the general state of American rights to a future day.

“Hereupon the committee appointed to state the rights, etc., brought in a report of the infringements and violations of American rights, which being read, upon motion,

“Resolved, That the consideration of this Report be deferred till Monday, and that the Congress in the mean time deliberate on the means most proper to be pursued for a restoration of our rights.

“After some debate on that subject, the Congress adjourned.

“Monday, Sept. 26, 1774, A.M.

“The Congress met according to adjournment.

“John Herring, Esq., a deputy from Orange County, in the Colony of New York, appeared this morning, and took his seat as a delegate from that Colony.

“Tuesday, Sept. 27, 1774, A.M.

“The Congress met according to adjournment, and, resuming the consideration of the means most proper to be used for a restoration of American rights,

“Resolved unanimously, That, from and after the 1st day of December next, there be no importation into British America from Great Britain or Ireland, of any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, or, from any other place, of any such goods, wares, or merchandise as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; and that no such goods, wares, or merchandise imported after the said 1st day of December next be used or purchased.

“Adjourned till to-morrow.

“Saturday, Oct. 1, 1774.

“Simon Boerum, Esq., appeared in Congress as a deputy from King's County, in the Colony of New York, and produced the credentials of his election, which, being read and approved, he took his seat as a delegate for that Colony.

“The Congress, resuming the consideration of the means, etc., upon motion,

“Resolved unanimously, That a loyal address to his Majesty be prepared, dutifully requesting the royal atten-

tion to the grievances that alarm and distress his Majesty's faithful subjects in North America, and entreating his Majesty's gracious interposition for the removal of such grievances, thereby to restore between Great Britain and the Colonies that harmony so necessary to the happiness of the British empire, and so ardently desired by all America.

“Agreed, That Mr. Lee, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, and Mr. J. Rutledge be a committee to prepare an address to his Majesty.

“Saturday, October 8, 1774.

“The Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from Boston; and upon motion,

“Resolved, That this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of Parliaments; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition.

“Tuesday, October 11, 1774.

“Resolved unanimously, That a memorial be prepared to the people of British America, stating to them the necessity of a firm, united, and invariable observation of the measures recommended by the Congress, as they tender the invaluable rights and liberties derived to them from the laws and Constitution of their country.

“Also that an address be prepared to the people of Great Britain. Mr. Lee, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Jay are appointed a committee to prepare a draft of the memorial and address.

“Friday, October 14, 1774.

“The Congress met according to adjournment, and resuming the consideration of the subject under debate, came into the following resolutions:

“Whereas, Since the close of the last war, the British Parliament, claiming a power of right to bind the people of America by statute in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these Colonies, established a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county;

“And whereas, In consequence of other statutes, judges who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the Crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace; and it has lately been resolved in Parliament that by force of a statute

made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, Colonists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treason, and misprisons, or concealments of treason, committed in the Colonies, and by a late statute such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned;

“And whereas, In the last session of Parliament, three statutes were made, one entitled ‘An Act to Discontinue in Such Manner and for Such Time as Therein Mentioned, the Landing and Discharging, Lading or Shipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise at the Town and Within the Harbor of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America;’ another entitled ‘An Act for the Better Regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England;’ and another entitled ‘An Act for the Impartial Administration of Justice in the Cases of Persons Questioned for any Act Done by Them in the Execution of the Law, or for the Suppression of Riots and Tumults in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England;’ and another statute was then made, ‘for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec,’ etc.;—all which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional and most dangerous and destructive of American rights;

“And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the Crown for redress have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his Majesty’s Ministers of State:

“The good people of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of Parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted. Whereupon, the deputies so appointed being now so assembled in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the end aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors, in like cases have usually done for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare,

“That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights:

"Resolved, N. C. D. 1, That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatsoever, a right to dispose of either with or without their consent.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 2, That our ancestors who first settled these Colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother-country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 3, That, by such emigration, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

"Resolved, 4, That the formation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative Council; and as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot be properly represented, in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negation of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed.

"But from the necessity of the case, and a regard for the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefit of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 5, That the respective Colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage according to the course of that law.

"Resolved 6, That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 7, That these, his Majesty's Colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of Provincial laws.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 8, That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the

King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same are illegal.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 9, That the keeping a standing army in these Colonies in times of peace, without the consent of the legislatures of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"Resolved, N. C. D. 10, It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that therefore the exercise of legislative power in several Colonies, by a Council appointed during pleasure of the Crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

"All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged, by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several Provincial legislatures.

"In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, or passed over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last was, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

"Resolved, N. C. D., That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the Colonists, and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American Colonies, viz.:

"The several Acts of 4 George III., chapters 15 and 34; 5 George III., chapter 25; 6 George III., chapter 52; 7 George III., chapters 41 and 46; 8 George III., chapter 22,—which impose duties for raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damage that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

"Also the 12 George III., chapter 24, entitled 'An Act for the Better Securing His Majesty's Dock-Yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition and Stores,' which declares a new offence in America and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act out of the realm, to be indicted

and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm. Also the three acts passed in the last session of Parliament for stopping the port and blocking up the harbor of Boston; for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, 'An Act for the Better Administration of Justice,' etc.

"Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government of the neighboring British Colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

"Also the act passed in the same session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America.

"Also that the keeping a standing army in several of these Colonies, in time of peace without the consent of the legislature of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit; but in hopes that their fellow-subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures:

"1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association; 2, to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America; and 3, to prepare a loyal address to his Majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into.'

"A letter being received from several gentlemen in Georgia was read.

"Monday, October 17, 1774.

"The Congress met according to adjournment.

"Mr. John Dickinson appeared in Congress as a deputy for the Province of Pennsylvania, and produced his credentials.

"Tuesday, October 18, 1774.

"The Congress resumed the consideration of the plan of Association, etc.; and after sundry amendments, the same was agreed to and ordered to be transcribed, that it may be signed by the several members.

"Thursday, October 20, 1774.

"The Association being copied, was read and signed at the table, and is as follows:

"We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay,

Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, deputed to represent them in a Continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty; our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere; affected with the deepest anxiety and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation the State of the whole Continent,—find that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of Colony administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these Colonies, and with them the British empire. In the prosecution of which system, various acts of Parliament have been passed for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America; and in prosecution of the same system, several late cruel and oppressive acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, and also an act for extending the Province of Quebec so as to border on the western frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide-extended country; thus by the influence of evil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant Colonies whenever a wicked Ministry shall choose so to direct.

“To obtain redress of grievances which threaten destruction to the lives, liberties, and property of his Majesty's subjects in North America, we are of opinion that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement faithfully adhered to will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure; and therefore we do for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several Colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country as follows:

“1. That from and after the 1st day of December next we will not import into British America from Great Britain or Ireland any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, or from any other place any such goods, wares, or merchandise as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we after that day import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento from the British plantations or from Do-

minico; nor wines from Madeira or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

“‘2. That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

“‘3. As a non-consumption agreement strictly adhered to will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we as above solemnly agree and associate that from this day we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India Company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the 1st day of March next we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatsoever; nor will we nor shall any person for or under us purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandise we have agreed not to import, which we shall know or have cause to suspect were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

“‘4. The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said acts and parts of acts of the British Parliament hereinafter mentioned are not repealed, we will not directly or indirectly export any merchandise or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

“‘5. Such as are merchants and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders as soon as possible to their factors, agents, and correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares, or merchandise for America in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connection with such merchant.

“‘6. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains or masters not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismission from their service.

“‘7. We will use our utmost endeavors to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end we will kill them as sparingly as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor

will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us who are or may become overstocked with or can conveniently spare any sheep will dispose of them to our neighbors, especially to the poorer sort, upon moderate terms.

“8. That we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially of horse-racing and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of plays, shows, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, nor any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon or necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.”

“11. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for Representatives in the Legislature, whose business it shall be to attentively observe the conduct of all persons touching this Association; and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this Association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the *Gazette*, to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known and universally condemned as the enemies of American liberty, and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.”

“14. And we do further agree and resolve, That we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourse whatsoever with any Colony or province in North America which shall not accede to or shall hereafter violate this Association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of this country. And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this Association until such parts of the several acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, or impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colors imported into America; and extend the powers of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits; deprive the American subjects of trial by jury; authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers; require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized before he shall be allowed to defend his property,—are repealed. And until that part of the act of the 12th George III., ch. 24, entitled “An Act for the Better Securing His Majesty's Dock-yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition, and

Stores," by which any person charged with committing any offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed. And until the four acts passed in the last session of Parliament—viz.: that for stopping the port and blocking up the Harbor of Boston; that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, "An Act for the Better Administration of Justice, etc.; and that for extending the limits of Quebec, etc."—are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective Colonies, to establish such further regulations as they may think proper for carrying into execution this Association.

"The foregoing Association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly."

"In Congress, Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1774.

"PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.

"New Hampshire John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.

Massachusetts Bay. { Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams,
John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.

Connecticut { Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas
Deane.

New York { Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay,
James Duane, Philip Livingston,
William Floyd, Henry Wisner,
Simon Boerum.

New Jersey { James Kinsey, William Livingston,
Stephen Crane, Richard Smith, John
De Hart.

Pennsylvania { Joseph Galloway, John Dickinson,
Charles Humphreys, Thomas Mif-
flin, Edward Biddle, John Morton,
George Ross.

The Lower Counties. { Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean,
New Castle, etc. . . . { George Read.

Maryland { Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson,
Jr., William Paca, Samuel Chase.

Virginia { Richard Henry Lee, George Washing-
ton, Patrick Henry, Jr., Richard
Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund
Pendleton.

North Carolina { William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, Rich-
ard Caswell.

South Carolina..... { Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch,
Christopher Gadsden, John Rut-
ledge, Edward Rutledge.

“Ordered, That this Association be committed to the press and that one hundred and twenty copies be struck off.

“The Congress then resumed the consideration of the address to the inhabitants of these Colonies, and after debate thereon, adjourned until to-morrow.”

THE ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

This address is elaborate and able. But the plan of this compilation will only admit of the following paragraphs. The committee appointed to draft it, as has been seen above, was composed of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, John Jay and Philip Livingston, of New York:

“Tuesday, Oct. 21, 1774.

“The Address to the People of Great Britain being brought in, and the amendments directed being made, the same was approved and is as follows:

“To the people of Great Britain, from the delegates appointed by the several English Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, to consider their grievances in General Congress at Philadelphia. September 5, 1774.

“*Friends and Fellow-subjects:* When a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, magnificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

“In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men and the blessings of liberty to you, their posterity.

“Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns,—should refuse to surrender them to men who found their claims on no principles of reason, and

who prosecute them with a design that, by having our lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave you.

"The cause of America is now the object of universal attention; it has at length become very serious.

"This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest and the general welfare of the British Empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

"Know then, that we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be as free as our fellow-subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent.

"That we claim all the benefits secured to the subjects by the English constitution and particularly that inestimable right of trial by jury.

"That we hold it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences without having an opportunity of making his defence.

"That we think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred and yet, sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

"Are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever? You know they will not.

"Why, then, are the proprietors of the soil of America less lords of their property than you are of yours? Or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or any other parliament or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us cause disparity in rights? Or can any reason be given why English subjects who live three thousand miles from the royal palace should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

"Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate

to deprive us of our property than the interdicts of the pope can divest kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands."

On the same day the Congress published a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, reported by the same committee.

It is a clear and statesmanlike *resumé* of the irritating legislation and policy of Great Britain from the close of the then late war with France to date.

The following paragraph will remind the reader of the first clause of the Declaration of Independence:

"In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God—the creator of all—requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition, and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified; that neither affection on the one hand nor resentment on the other being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of Wisdom and Justice."

From councils thus tempered, arise the surest hopes of the divine favor, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

The Congress also put forth addresses to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, and to the King. The former appeals to the people of that Province to unite with those south of it in opposition to Parliamentary taxation. The latter is a manly but respectful petition and remonstrance.

THE CONGRESS OF 1775

The Congress of 1775 met at Philadelphia, May 10th. All the Colonies, except Rhode Island and Georgia, were represented; and after the body had been in session for a few days, delegates arrived from Rhode Island, and from St. John's Parish, Georgia.

On the 6th of July,—

"A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, now met in Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, was issued."

The committee appointed to draw up this address consisted of Messrs. J. Rutledge, of South Carolina; W. Livingston, of New Jersey; Dr. Benj. Franklin, of Pennsylvania; John Jay, of New York; and Herman Johnson, of Maryland;—to which was afterwards added J. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.

The following are extracts:

"If it was possible for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and an unbounded power over others marked out, by His infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal dominion never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those, who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.

"Yet, however blinded that assembly may be by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

"But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that Parliament can 'of right, make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever.' What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited, a power? Not a single man of those who assume, it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated, with Parliament in the most mild and decent language."

After enumerating the several acts of aggression upon Colonial rights, and especially the actual war upon Massachusetts, the Declaration concludes, as follows:

"We are reduced to the alternation of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers or resistance by force. The latter is our choice.

"We have counted the cost of this contest, and find noth-

ing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of consigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them. Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of Divine favor towards us, that His Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves.

"With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to be restored.

"Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them.

"We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies without any imputation or even suspicion of offence.

"They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

"In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before. With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and Impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore His

Divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war."

At this session the Congress adopted a petition to the King in the usual style of such papers, complaining of the measures of the Ministry and justifying the defensive measures of the Colonies. It is signed by all the delegates present, except the representation of the single parish of Georgia.

On the same day Congress adopted an elaborate address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, complaining of the arbitrary and unjust policy of the British Parliament, and appealing to them as "friends, countrymen, and brethren."

On the 13th July the Congress agreed upon a speech to be read in their name to the six nations of Indians; and on the 28th an address to the people of Ireland was adopted in justification of their measures of resistance.

After other proceedings in reference to defensive measures, the Congress adjourned August 1st to September 5th.

The Congress met again September 5th, according to adjournment. Its proceedings for the most part were of a business nature.

The following spirited paragraph is extracted from the report of a committee, adopted by the body on the 6th of December:

"The Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on proclamations, which, being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

"We, the delegates of the thirteen united Colonies in North America, have taken into our most serious consideration a proclamation issued from the Court of St. James on the 23d day of August last. The name of Majesty is used to give it a sanction and influence, and on that account it becomes a matter of importance to wipe off in the name of the people of these united Colonies the aspersions which it is calculated to throw upon our cause, and to prevent as far as possible the undeserved punishments which it is designed to prepare for our friends. We are accused of 'forgetting the allegiance which we owe to the power that has protected and sustained us.' Why, all this ambiguity and obscurity in what ought to be so plain and obvious that he who runs may read it! What allegiance is it that we forget? Allegiance to Parliament? We never owed, we never owned, it. Allegiance to our King? Our words have ever avowed it; our conduct has ever been consistent with it. We condemn, and with arms in our hands (a resource which freemen will never part with) we oppose, the claim and exercise of unconstitutional powers, to which neither the Crown nor Parliament were ever entitled. By the British Constitution, our best inheritance, rights as well as duties descend upon us,

We cannot violate the latter by defending the former. We should act in diametrical opposition to both if we permitted the claims of the British Parliament to be established and the measures pursued in consequence of those claims to be carried into execution among us."

Certain resolutions offered by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, June 7, 1776:

"Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free, and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation being moved and seconded,

"Resolved, That the consideration of them be deferred till to-morrow morning; and that the members be enjoined to attend punctually at ten o'clock, in order to take the same into consideration."

Agreeable to order, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the resolutions to them referred; and after some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, reported that the committee have had under consideration the matters referred to them, and have come to a resolution thereon, which they directed him to report.

The resolution agreed to in the committee of the whole being read,

"Resolved, That the consideration of the first resolution be postponed to Monday, the 1st day of July next; and in the mean while that no time be lost in case the Congress agree thereto that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the said first resolution, which is in these words: 'That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.'

"Resolved, That the committee be discharged."

Dr. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed on the committee to prepare the Declaration. It was drawn by Mr. Jefferson.

"Wednesday, July 3, 1776.

"Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into the committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the

committee, not having yet gone through it, desired leave to sit again.

“Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the Declaration of Independence.”

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

“Thursday, July 4, 1776.

“Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report.

“The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:

“*A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress Assembled:*

“When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the ne-

cessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government.

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the right of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

"He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by

our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

“For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

“For protecting them by a mock trial from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

“For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

“For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

“For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury;

“For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

“For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

“For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the powers of our government;

“For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring, on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rules of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

“In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the cir-

cumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

“We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”

“The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

Delaware.

Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M’Kean.

Rhode Island.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

Maryland.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Connecticut.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

New York.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris,

New Jersey.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

Pennsylvania.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

Virginia.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,

Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

South Carolina.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

“Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.”

CHAPTER IV.

MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES.

Massachusetts.

A REPORT made to the House of Lords on the 20th April, 1774, has become, in the light of subsequent history, an imperishable monument to the irrepressible love of liberty, as well as the unconquerable spirit of the people of Massachusetts.

The introductory lines of this elaborate document will convey a clear notion of its character and contents. They are as follows:

“The Earl of Buckinghamshire reported from the lords committee appointed to inquire into the several proceedings in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in opposition to the sovereignty of his Majesty, in his Parliament of Great Brit-

ain, over that Province, and also what has passed in this House relative thereto from the first day of January, 1764."

The report proceeds to recite the several acts of Parliament affecting the Colonies, the resolutions of the lords, the proclamations of the King, the speeches from the throne, and the responsive addresses of the lords. It also quotes from or states the substance of the proceedings of the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the resolutions of county and town meetings, and relates the acts of mob violence which occurred in Boston.

The report is, in substance, one long indictment against the people of Massachusetts, based on allegations which every son of the State then and now would be proud to admit the truth of. It would occupy far too much space for me to quote all the facts complained of by the committee; and I only copy the more striking statements, and make brief references to the remainder. Their first complaint is as follows:

"The committee, having perused the report of the Board of Trade of the 11th day of December, 1764, and the papers laid before his Majesty therewith, find in the said papers the strongest assertions, by the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay, of their sole right to pass laws, particularly of taxation; and of their resolution to invite the other Colonies to combine with them in measures to prevent the King, in his Parliament, from passing any such laws. For instance, in a letter to Mr. Mauduit, then agent of the Province, which was drawn up by a committee of the House of Representatives, and afterwards approved by the House, they used the following expressions: 'The silence of the Province should have been imputed to any cause, even to despair, rather than be construed into a tacit cession of their rights, or an acknowledgment of a right in the Parliament of Great Britain to impose duties and taxes upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons;' and in the same letter they avowed and authenticated the doctrines advanced in a certain pamphlet, entitled 'The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved,' written by James Otis, Esq., which pamphlet, amongst other things, says: 'That the imposition of taxes, whether on trade or on lands, on houses or ships, on real or personal, fixed or floating, property in the Colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonists, as British subjects, and as men.'

"It appears to the committee, from the votes of the House of Representatives of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, of the 6th of June, 1765, that they came to a resolution, 'That it was highly expedient there should be a meeting, as soon as might be, of committees from the Houses of Representatives or Burgesses, in the several Colonies on the American continent,' to consult on their then present circumstances,

and the difficulties to which they were reduced by the operation of the late acts of Parliament for levying duties on the Colonies, and to consider of a general address to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief; and that letters should be forthwith prepared and transmitted to the respective speakers of the several Assemblies, to invite them to accede to this proposition; and, further, that on the 8th of June they did actually elect three persons to be their committees, and also voted £450 to bear their expenses."

They next give an account of the destruction of the stamps by the people of Boston, in August, 1765; but of this event I have presented a full history in preceding parts of this compilation. These violent proceedings in regard to the stamps, which began in Boston, August 15th, and were followed up by all of the Colonies, one after another, caused the King and Parliament to halt in their despotic career. The Stamp Act was repealed; and, what is still more remarkable, an act was passed to render valid all legal instruments which had been executed on unstamped paper in America during the existence of that odious law.

"The committee find that, on the meeting of the Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, on the 28th of January, 1767, a message was sent to the Governor from the House of Representatives, desiring to be informed, 'Whether any provision had been made at the expense of that government for the King's troops, lately arrived in the harbor of Boston;' and that after having had the minutes of Council (by which it expressly appeared that the provision for the artillery companies at the castle was made in pursuance of the then late act of Parliament) laid before them, they replied that, 'In giving orders, with the advice of the Council, for making provisions for the artillery companies at the castle, the Governor had acted in an essential point against the plain intent of the charter, by which alone, and that only, according to such acts as are or may be in force within this province, the Governor and Council were authorized to issue money out of the treasury;' adding, 'That it was still more grievous to them to find the Governor stating, as the foundation of the proceeding, a late act of Parliament, which to them appeared as great a grievance as the Stamp Act, which took away the unalienable right of freedom from all taxation, but such as they should voluntarily consent to and grant.'

"The committee call attention to another circular-letter of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, of the date of 1768, in which an appeal is made to the Assemblies of other Colonies for co-operation in protesting against the acts of Parliament which imposed duties on the Colony.

"The committee complain that the people of Massachu-

setts, in the election of the Council, in 1766, '67, and '68, 'left out all the Crown officers.'

"The committee narrate at some length the circumstances attending the seizure by the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs, of the sloop *Liberty*, the property of John Hancock, of Boston. This happened on the 9th of May, 1768. It 'occasioned a most violent tumult; the Collector and Comptroller, with the son of the Collector, were attacked by a numerous and outrageous mob, who beat and abused them in a most cruel manner; and in the night attacked their houses, broke the windows, seized on a boat belonging to the Collector, which they carried away in triumph, and afterwards burnt. The commissioners of the customs, expecting the same treatment, the riot still continuing, thought it prudent to retreat for safety till midnight with their families to the houses of some persons in the neighborhood; and afterwards, upon conviction that their lives were in danger, took refuge on board his Majesty's ship the *Romney*, then in the harbor of Boston, and for their further security, from thence into Castle William.'

"The commissioners, from their retreat in the castle, applied several times to the Governor, Sir Francis Bernard, for protection. But the tone of his reply shows entire helplessness on his part, as well as a degree of timid acquiescence in what was deemed inevitable. At length, on the 22d of July, he referred the letter to the Council, which body fully resolved 'That the disorders which happened were occasioned by the violent and unprecedented manner in which the sloop *Liberty* had been seized by the officers of the customs.'

"Two regiments were sent to Boston in consequence of these events, to support the civil power and preserve the peace; but this proceeding was the source of new disorders. The troops were cautioned against quarrelling with the townspeople, 'by whom they complained they had been frequently ill-treated and insulted.' Nevertheless, violent collisions occurred between the troops and the citizens, which caused the latter to be fired upon, and several were killed.

At a town meeting, on the 12th September, 1768, the freeholders and inhabitants of Boston declared, by resolution, that the taxation of the Colony by the British Parliament was a violation of the charter and of natural right. They also resolved, as the Governor refused to call the Assembly together, that a committee of their number should be elected to meet committees from the other towns of the Province, in convention, "in order that such measures might be consulted and advised as his Majesty's service, and the peace and safety of his subjects in the Province, might require." They also voted that "every listed soldier" "shall always be provided with a well-fixed fire-lock musket, ac-

coutrement, and amunition." This was based on the apprehension of a war with France.

The select-men, by instruction of this town meeting, addressed a long circular-letter to the other towns, in which their common grievances were set forth, and in which they were called on to send delegates, or, as they are called, committees, to meet in a Provincial convention for the purpose of devising measures of redress. The proposed convention was to assemble on the 22 of September.

At this point I leave the report of the committee for a while, in order to refer to the proceedings of this convention.

It met in Faneuil Hall, according to Barry, at the appointed time, September 22d, 1768. He says:

"The convention called by the people of Boston met according to appointment; and, on the first day, about seventy persons appeared, the representatives of sixty-six towns. This number was increased by daily arrivals, until ninety-six towns and eight districts, nearly every settlement in the Province, was represented. Otis was at first absent; and Thomas Cushing, the speaker of the House, was chosen moderator, and the clerk of the House was chosen clerk of the convention."

"They have committed treason," shouted the officers of the Crown. "At least the select-men of Boston have done so." "Boston," wrote Gage, "is mutinous; its resolves are treasonable and desperate," etc.

The convention petitioned the Governor to "cause an Assembly to be immediately convened." This he declined to do, on the ground that it would be an admission of the legality of the body. He advised the members to separate at once, and, if they failed to do so, he would assert the prerogative of the Crown, and those who persisted in usurping its rights, would be made to "repent their rashness." "But," says the historian, "the message was received with derision."

The convention continued in session six days, and repeated the protest of the people against the taxation of the Colonies by Parliament, against a standing army, and against the danger to the "liberties of America, from a united body of pensioners and soldiers;" and, after renewing their petition to the King, which their agent was enjoined to deliver in person, as soon as possible, they dissolved. "Some feared, others hoped, for much more serious consequences from this extraordinary assembly." But its members, aware of the necessity of prudence, displayed in all their proceedings remarkable caution, and when the result of their labors was transmitted to England, though many would gladly have seized upon the slightest flaw to justify their exemplary punishment, "no traces of high treason could be found in what had been done."

The Boston town meeting, and the convention which it called into being, caused great indignation among the governing party in England.

The King, in his speech, November 8th, refers to it as follows: "The capital town of which Colony appears, by late advices, to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and has proceeded to measures subversive of the Constitution, and attended with circumstances that manifest a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain." The lords responded Amen to this speech; and on the 15th December (I again quote this committee's report), they resolved,

"That the declarations, resolutions, and proceedings in the town meeting at Boston on the 14th of June and 12th of September were illegal and unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrection in his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay.

"That the appointment, at the town meeting on the 12th of September, of a convention to be held in the town of Boston on the 22d of that month to consist of deputies from the several towns and districts in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and the issuing a precept, by the select-men of the town of Boston, to each of the said towns and districts, for the election of such deputies, were proceedings subversive of his Majesty's government, and evidently manifesting a design in the inhabitants of the said town of Boston to set up a new and unconstitutional authority, independent of the Crown of Great Britain.

That the elections, by several towns and districts in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, of deputies to sit in the said convention, and the meeting of such convention in consequence thereof, were daring insults offered to his Majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government."

The first of these series of resolutions declares that the votes, resolutions, and proceedings of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, in the months of January and February of the same year (1768), so far as they deny the right of the King and Parliament to make laws binding upon the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, "are illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain."

The second of these resolutions declares that the resolutions of the Massachusetts Assembly in January preceding, which provide for sending delegates to a general convention of the Colonies, and which deny the validity of acts of Parliament, etc., "are proceedings of a most unwarrantable and dangerous nature, calculated to inflame the minds of his Majesty's subjects in the other Colonies, tending to create

unlawful combinations, repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, and subversive of the Constitution."

On the same day an humble address was voted to his Majesty, "to express our sincere satisfaction in the measures his Majesty has pursued for supporting the constitution, and inducing a due obedience to the authority of the legislature." The measures here referred to which gave such satisfaction to their lordships were not unlike those recommended by Dr. Franklin, in his humorous letter addressed to the rulers of England, in which he points out the most effective plan for reducing a great empire to a small one.

The House of Commons, on the 9th of February, 1769, returned the resolutions and address of the lords, with some amendments, which the latter body agreed to.

The committee whose elaborate report I am quoting from naively remark that "It doth not appear to the committee that the censure of the proceedings in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and of the conduct of the Council and other civil magistrates, expressed by both Houses of Parliament in their resolutions, and their approbation of the measure of sending troops thither to support and protect the magistrates, and the officers of the revenue, produced the good effect that might reasonably have been hoped for." One would have supposed that observations such as the above might have led the committee to the conclusion that a change of policy was necessary; but the effect was to confirm their lordships, as well as the King and Parliament, in the notion that the same tyrannical policy should be persisted in and carried to greater extremes of harshness. This fatal delusion is always sure to possess the minds of men who are in the exercise of arbitrary power.

The Parliamentary committee complain that the "Meetings of the associators were represented to have been held in as regular a manner as any other meeting authorized by the Constitution. Committees were appointed to examine the cargoes of all vessels arriving from Great Britain; and, regular votes and resolutions of censure were passed in these meetings upon all such as refused to concur in those unlawful associations; their names were published in the public newspapers as enemies to their country; and the mandates and decrees of those committees met with a respect and obedience denied to the constitutional authority of government. In some cases, goods imported from Great Britain were locked up in warehouses, under the care of these committees, in order to prevent their being sold, and in one or two instances they were reshipped to Great Britain."

On the 31st of May the General Assembly sent a message to the Governor, complaining of the presence of troops in the town of Boston, and ships in the harbor, and calling on him to have them sent away, as their presence was incom-

patible with the dignity and independence of the Assembly. The Governor replied that he had no control over the troops or the ships; to which the Assembly, on the 31st of June, made answer that, "By the principles of the Constitution, the Governor of the Colony had the absolute military command; that the sending a military force there to enforce the execution of the laws is inconsistent with the nature of government and the spirit of a free constitution; that the unwillingness, of a people in general, that a law should be executed was a strong presumption of its being an unjust law; that it could not be their law, as the people must consent to laws before they can be obliged, in conscience, to obey them."

On the 8th of July the Assembly passed resolutions declaring that all trials for offences committed in the Colony ought of right to be had in the Colony; and that to send such persons for trial beyond the sea "is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from the vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses on such trials, will be taken away from the party accused."

The Parliamentary committee give the substance of a letter from Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, of March 27, 1770, who lamented that when the troops were in Boston they were of no use in enforcing the laws in cases of riot, as no civil magistrate would have called on them, for fear of being driven from the town.

Hutchinson, in a letter of April 27, 1770, complains of the associators that they would not tolerate the sale of what they called contraband goods—that is to say, such as were not enumerated in their schedule; that tea from Holland might be sold, but that it was a high crime to sell any from England; "that several of the importers pleaded that they should be utterly ruined, but the Boston zealots had no bowels, and gave for answer, that, if a ship was to bring in the plague, nobody would doubt what was to be done with her; but the present case is much worse than that."

In the same letter Hutchinson observes "that the Boston principles obtain more and more in the remote parts of the Province, and the Representatives of seven eighths of the towns appear, in the present session, to be favorers of the non-importation measures." He states, however, that, when the resolutions and addresses of Parliament first came to hand, they had a terrifying effect upon the popular leaders and the press; but after a few weeks, when they found that the vigorous measures were relaxed, "they became more assuming and tyrannical than before."

In 1771, July 5th, the Assembly declare that "they know of no commissioners of his Majesty's customs, nor of any revenue his Majesty has a right to establish, in North America; that they know and feel a tribute levied and extorted

from those who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it."

The Parliamentary committee quote the address of the select-men of Boston to the Governor, of October 28, 1772, in which they earnestly protest against the recent act of Parliament which applied the revenues of the Province to the payment of fixed salaries to the judges of the Superior Court, and the attorney and solicitor-general, in violation of the Charter. At the same meeting, a committee for correspondence with the other towns of the Province was established.

On the 25th January, 1773, the Council, in its answer to the Governor, declare, "They are of opinion that the Parliament cannot constitutionally levy taxes, in any form, on his Majesty's subjects in that Province."

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

The Parliamentary committee give the following account of the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor; and of the preliminary proceedings and acts of violence of the town's people which led to it:

"The committee of correspondence appear to have used their utmost endeavors to work up the minds of the people not only for their own, but also the southern governments, to prevent the importation of teas from the East India Company; and accordingly, on the 3d of November, 1773, a mob of about five hundred persons committed several outrageous acts of violence against the persons to whom it was expected the tea in question would be consigned; insisting that they should engage and promise not to receive or sell it; that if they did, they would be voted enemies to their country, and must expect to be treated as such hereafter. They then forced open the doors of the warehouses of Mr. Clark, and tore them off the hinges, and entered with great violence, attempting to force their way to the counting-house, but were driven back by the persons who were in it.

"A committee then of the freeholders and other inhabitants attended Messrs. Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, supposed to be two of the consignees, and requested them to resign their appointment, and, upon their refusing, voted their answer unsatisfactory. Governor Hutchinson did everything in his power, without the Council, for the preservation of the peace and good order of the town, and thought that, if he had the aid Council might have given, his endeavors would have been more effectual.

"On the 7th of November, 1773, a large number of people beset the house of Mr. Hutchinson, but, not finding him at home, proceeded to Mr. Clark's, another of the consignees, where they committed great disorders—broke the glasses

and frames of the windows, and did considerable damage. After this riot, the Governor immediately summoned a Council, and laid before them the necessity of some measures being taken; but the Council declined advising or directing any measures for landing the tea, suggesting that then they would of course advise to a measure for procuring the payment of the duty, and therefore be advising to a measure inconsistent with the declared sentiment of both Houses in the last winter session of the General Court, which they apprehended to be altogether inexpedient and improper.

"After the arrival of a ship loaded with tea, a meeting of the people of Boston and the neighboring towns was held on the 29th of November, and continued, by adjournment, till the next day, when a motion was made and agreed to, *nem. con.*, that the tea should be not only sent back, but that no duty should be paid thereon.

"It was also voted, *nem. con.*, that Mr. Rotch, owner of the vessel, and Captain Hall, the master of the ship, at their peril, should not suffer any of the tea to be landed; it was also voted that Governor Hutchinson's conduct in requesting the justices of the peace to meet to suppress all riots and unlawful assemblies carried a designed reflection upon the people there met, and was solely calculated to serve the views of administration. They afterwards voted that the tea brought by Captain Hall should be returned by Mr. Rotch to England, in the same bottom in which it came. It was also voted, *nem. con.*, that six persons should be appointed to give due notice to the towns in the country, when they should be required so to do, upon any important occasion.

"They also resolved that, if any person or persons should hereafter import any tea from Great Britain, or if any master or masters of any vessel or vessels in Great Britain should take the same on board to be imported to that place, until the said unrighteous act should be repealed, he or they should be deemed by that body an enemy to his country; and that they would prevent the landing and sale of the same, and the payment of any duty thereon; and that they would effect the return thereof to the place from whence it came.

"They also resolved that these their votes be printed and sent to England and all the sea ports in the province. Before they separated, they voted that their brethren in the country should be desired to give their assistance upon the first notice that should be given.

"After the dissolution of this assembly of the people, what is called the committee of correspondence called in committees of other towns, kept up a military watch and guard every night to prevent the landing any teas, and appeared to be the executioners of the resolves and orders passed at the aforesaid assembly.

"The consignees having retired to the castle, the owner of the first ship that arrived was the principal person applied to, and he was sent for repeatedly by these committees, and was frequently required to send back the ship with the teas. He pleaded 'that he could not get a clearance at the custom-house nor a pass for the castle; and that, if he should be able to get his ship out of the harbor, both ship and cargo would be forfeited in every part of the King's dominions.' This was not thought satisfactory, and the next morning another assembly of the people met and chose a moderator. At this meeting it was determined that Mr. Rotch, the owner of the ship, should demand at the custom-house a clearance of the teas for England, which was done the 15th, when the collector and comptroller refused to grant it.

"He then was obliged to demand a permit from the naval office to pass the castle; afterwards he was sent to the Governor to apply to him for the permit, who soon satisfied him that no permit could be granted until the vessel was regularly cleared. He returned to town that evening, and reported this answer to the meeting. Immediately whereupon, numbers of the people cried out, 'A mob! a mob!' left the house, repaired to the wharfs where three of the vessels lay aground, having on board three hundred and forty chests of tea, and in two hours' time it was totally destroyed. A sufficient number of people for doing the work were disguised, and these were surrounded by numbers, as well of the inhabitants of Boston, as of other towns.

"The committee observe that many persons of consideration in the town of Boston took the lead in the proceedings of this meeting, for whose names they beg leave to refer your lordships to the papers themselves."

This affair drew forth from the King "under his royal sign manual," a letter to Parliament, and that body proceeded to pass the famous "Boston Port Bill," closing the harbor against ingress or egress "for all goods, wares, and merchandise."

THE BOSTON PORT BILL,

This bill was approved by the King, March 31, 1774. It is entitled "An act to Discontinue, in such Manner and for such Time as therein Mentioned, the Landing and Discharging, Lading or Shipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, at the Town and within the Harbor of Boston, in the Prov-

ince of Massachusetts Bay, in North America." The title of the act may be thought to indicate sufficiently its character and scope, without a recital of its provisions; but for the convenience of reference, the principal sections are presented below. The preamble alleges "dangerous commotions and insurrections," in which "valuable cargoes of teas, being the property of the East India Company, and on board certain vessels lying within the bay or harbor of Boston, were seized and destroyed," as the reason, for the passage of the act. A proviso excepts, from the general prohibition of commerce, "any fuel or victual brought coastwise from any part of the continent of America, for the necessary use and sustenance of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston."

Extracts From the Bill.

"Anno Decimo-Quarto Georgii III., Regis.

"An Act to Discontinue, in such Manner and for such Time as are therein Mentioned, the Landing and Discharging, Lading or Shipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise at the Town and within the Harbor of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America. Approved March 31, 1774.

"Whereas, dangerous commotions and insurrections have been fomented and raised in the town of Boston, of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by divers ill-affected persons, to the subversion of his Majesty's government, and to the utter destruction of the public peace and good order of the said town, in which commotions and insurrections, certain valuable cargoes of tea, being the property of the East India Company, and on board certain vessels lying within the bay or harbor of Boston, were seized and destroyed; and, whereas, in the present condition of the town and harbor, the commerce of his Majesty's subjects cannot be safely carried on there, nor the customs payable to his Majesty duly collected; and it is therefore expedient that the officers of his Majesty's customs should be forthwith removed from the said town; may it please your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of June, 1774, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever to lade or put, or cause, or procure to be laden or put off or from any quay, wharf, or other place within the said town of Boston, or in or upon any part of the shore of the bay commonly called the harbor of Boston, between a certain headland or point called Nahant Point, on the eastern side of the entrance into the said bay, and a certain headland or point called

Alderton Point, on the western side of the entrance into the said bay, or in or upon any island, creek, landing-place, bank, or other place within the said bay or headland, into any ship, vessel, lighter, boat, or bottom any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever to be transported or carried into any other country, province, or place whatsoever, or into any other part of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England; or to take up, discharge, or lay on land, or cause or procure to be taken up, discharged, or laid on land, within the said town, or in or upon any of the places aforesaid, out of any boat, lighter, ship, vessel, or bottom any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, to be brought from any other country, province or place, or any other part of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, upon pain of forfeiture of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, and of the said boat, lighter, ship, vessel, or other bottom into which the same shall be put, or out of which the same shall be taken, and of the guns, ammunition, tackle, furniture, and stores in or belonging to the same; and if any such goods, wares, or merchandise shall within the said town, or in the places aforesaid, be laden or taken in from the shore, into any barge, hoy, lighter, wherry, or boat to be carried on board any ship or vessel outward-bound to any other country or province, or other part of said Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, or be laden or taken into such barge, hoy, lighter, wherry, or out of any ship or vessel coming and arriving from any other country or province, or other part of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, such barge, hoy, lighter, wherry, or boat, shall be forfeited and lost.

“And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid; That if any wharfinger or keeper of any wharf, crane, or quay, or their servants, or any of them, shall take up or land, or knowingly suffer to be taken up or landed, or shall ship off, or suffer to be shipped off, at or from any quay of the aforesaid wharfs, cranes, or quays any such goods, wares, or merchandise; in every such case, all and every such wharfingers, and keeper, of such wharf, crane, or quay, and every person whatsoever, who shall be assisting or otherwise concerned in the shipping, or in the loading or putting on board any boat or other vessel, for that purpose, or in the unshipping such goods, wares, and merchandise, or to whose hands the same shall knowingly come after the loading, shipping, or unshipping thereof, shall forfeit and lose treble the value thereof, to be computed at the highest price which such goods, wares, and merchandise shall bear at the place where such offence shall be committed at the time when the same shall be so committed, together with the vessel and boats, and all horses, cattle, and carriages whatsoever made use of in the

shipping, unshipping, lading, removing, carriage, or conveyance of any of the aforesaid goods, wares, and merchandise.

"Provided always, That nothing in the act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any military or other stores for his Majesty's use, or to the ships or vessels whereon the same shall be laden, which shall be commissioned by and in the immediate pay of his Majesty, his heirs and successors; nor to any fuel or victual brought coastways from any part of the continent of North America for the necessary use and sustenance of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston; provided the vessel wherein the same are to be carried, shall be duly furnished with a cocket and let-pass after having been duly searched by the proper officers of his Majesty's customs at Marblehead, in the port of Salem, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and the same officers of his Majesty's customs be also put on board the said vessel, who is hereby authorized to go on board and proceed with the said vessel, together with a sufficient number of persons properly armed for his defence, to the said town or harbor of Boston; nor to any ships or vessels which may happen to be within the said harbor of Boston on or before the first day of June, 1774, and may have either laden or taken on board, or be there with intent to load or take on board, or to land or discharge, any goods, wares, or merchandise, provided the said ships and vessels do depart the said harbor within fourteen days after the first day of June, 1774."

The Parliamentary committee relate the particulars of "a most inhuman act of violence" committed by a mob, upon John Malcolm, a revenue officer, who had made a seizure of a vessel in the port of Falmouth, in Casco Bay. The mob doubtless acted very brutally; but the committee say that it was composed entirely of the lower orders, and that Malcolm had indiscreetly at other times given provocation to the people. He was tarred and feathered, and severely beaten.

On the 1st of February, 1774, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts required the Chief Justice, Oliver, and the four Superior Court judges to declare "whether they would receive the grants of Assembly for their salaries, or accept their support from the Crown." The four judges consented to receive their salaries from the Province; but the Chief Justice stated that he would continue to "accept his support from the Crown." On this statement the Assembly remonstrated to the Governor and declared Oliver to be a public enemy. Failing to procure his removal, they voted to adjourn the court, which by law was to be held on the 15th of February, to the 22d of that month, to which the Governor refused his consent.

On the 17th June, 1774, the House of Representatives, as has been noticed in the summary of the lords' report, ap-

pointed the "Honorable James Bowdoin, Esq., the Honorable Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires," a committee to meet the committees or delegates from other Colonies, at the city of Philadelphia, or any other place that might be deemed more suitable, on the 1st of September, "to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America; and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most devoutly desired by all good men."

These proceedings are as follows:

"MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"The late Honorable House of Representatives of this Province having finished all the ordinary public business of importance that had been before them on Friday, June 17, 1774, came into the following resolutions,—present 129 members, and only 12 dissentients, viz. :

"In the House of Representatives, June 17, 1774.

"This House having duly considered, and being deeply affected with, the unhappy differences which have long subsisted and are increasing between Great Britain and the American Colonies, do resolve that a meeting of the committees from the several Colonies on this continent is highly expedient and necessary to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America; and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all good men.

"Therefore resolved, That the Honorable James Bowdoin, Esq., the Honorable Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, be and they are hereby appointed a committee on the part of this Province for the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum to meet such committees or delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective Houses of Burgesses or Representatives, or by convention, or by the committees of correspondence appointed by the respective Houses of Assembly, to meet in

the city of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the committee, on the 1st day of September next; and that the speaker of the House be directed, in a letter to the Houses of Burgesses or Representatives, in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these resolves.

"And whereas, this House did resolve that there be paid to said committee out of the public treasury the sum of five hundred pounds, to enable them to discharge the important trust to which they are appointed, they upon their return to be accountable for the same.

"And said resolve was sent up to the honorable board for their concurrence, who accordingly concurred in the resolve of the House; but his Excellency the Governor declined his consent to the same.

"Wherefore this House would recommend, and they do accordingly hereby recommend, to the several towns and districts within the Province, that each town and district raise, collect, and pay to the Honorable Thomas Cushing, Esquire, of Boston, the sum of five hundred pounds by the 15th day of August next, agreeable to a list herewith exhibited, being each town and district's proportion of said sum, according to the last Province tax, to enable them to discharge the important trust to which they are appointed, they upon their return to be accountable for the same."

On the same day the House strongly recommended "To the inhabitants of the Province, that they renounce altogether the consumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lies, discontinue the use of all goods and manufactures whatever that shall be imported from the East Indies and Great Britain, until the public grievances of America shall be radically and totally redressed. And it is also further recommended to all, that they give all possible encouragement to the manufactures of America."

When these proceedings became known to the Governor, Gage, he sent his secretary to acquaint the two Houses, it was his pleasure that the General Assembly should be dissolved. Finding the door of the Representatives Chamber locked, the secretary sent the messenger to inform the speaker that he was there ready to deliver a message from the Governor, and to desire he might be admitted to deliver it. "The messenger returned and said he had acquainted the speaker therewith, who mentioned it to the House, and their orders were to keep the door fast."

ABOLITION OF THE CHARTER.

MAY 20, 1774, the act of Parliament "for Better Regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay" was passed. It revoked the privilege granted by the Charter of William and Mary, of allowing the counsellors to be elected by the General Court, or Assembly, and provides that after the 1st day of July, 1774, they be appointed by the sovereign, to hold their places during the pleasure of his Majesty, his heirs and successors. It conferred upon the Governor the right to nominate and appoint, and to remove, without the consent of the Council, all judges of the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, courts of Oyer and Terminer, the attorney-general, provosts, marshals, justices of the peace, and other officers to the Council or courts of justice belonging. The Governor was authorized to remove and appoint sheriffs; the Governor and Council could appoint the judges of the Superior Court, including the Chief Justice, who were removable at the pleasure of the King. The act prohibits the calling of public meetings by the select-men, or by the freeholders, without the consent of the Governor in writing. The avowed object of this prohibition was to prevent such meetings, because the people are "misled to treat upon matters of the most general concern, and to pass many dangerous and unwarrantable resolves." Meetings of the people were only permitted, by the act, for the election of officers, and all discussion of politics was forbidden. The act abolished the practice of electing jurors by the freeholders in their town meetings, and made it the duty of the sheriff (himself appointed and removable by the Governor) to make out the list; and the *venire* for summoning the jury was to be directed to the sheriff, instead of the constable or other officer.

TO BE SENT BEYOND THE SEA FOR TRIAL.

"The Act for the Impartial Administration of Justice in the Cases of Persons Questioned for any Act done by Them in execution of the Law, or for the Suppression of Riots and Tumults in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England" was approved on the same day, May 20th, with the foregoing act for abolishing the Charter, and, indeed, it was part and parcel of the same arbitrary and despotic policy. It provides "that, if any inquisition or indictment shall be

found, or if any appeal shall be sued or preferred against any person, for murder, or other capital offence, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and it shall appear by information given upon oath to the Governor," that the fact was committed by the person thus indicted in the discharge of his duty as a magistrate or revenue officer, or in aid of these officers in execution of the laws or in the suppression of riots; "and if it shall also appear, to the satisfaction of the said Governor," "that an indifferent trial cannot be had within the said Province," with the advice and consent of the Council, that the inquisition, indictment, or appeal shall be tried in some other of his Majesty's Colonies or in Great Britain. In all such cases where magistrates or officers are indicted for murder, they are nevertheless entitled to bail, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. Witnesses for the parties indicted, as well as for the prosecution, to be paid reasonable expenses for attendance on the distant court to which the trial may be removed.

The main features of these important acts of Parliament, for abolishing the Charter of Massachusetts, and for transporting certain offenders beyond the sea or to another Colony for trial, are herewith annexed, as follows:

ACT ABOLISHING THE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"Anno Decimo-quarto Georgii III., Regis. An Act for the Better Regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England.

"Approved Friday, May 20, 1774.

"Whereas, by letters patent under the great seal of England, made in the third year of the reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary, uniting, erecting, and incorporating the several Colonial territories and tracts of land therein mentioned into one real Province by the name their Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England; whereby it was, amongst other things, ordained and established that the Governor of the said Province should from thenceforth be appointed and commissioned, by their Majesties, their heirs and successors,—it was, however, granted and ordained that from the expiration of the term for and during which the eight and twenty persons named in the said letters patent were appointed to be the first counsellors or assistants to the Governor of the said Province for the time being, the aforesaid number of eight and twenty counsellors or assistants should yearly once in every year forever thereafter be by the general court or Assembly newly chosen; and whereas, the said method of electing such counsellors or assistants to be vested with the several powers, authorities, and privileges therein men-

tioned, although conformable to the practice heretofore used in such of the Colonies thereby united, in which the appointment of the respective Governors had been vested in the general courts or Assemblies of the said Colonies, hath by repeated experiences been found to be extremely ill-adapted to the plan of government established in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, by the said letters patent hereinbefore mentioned, and hath been so far from contributing to the attainment of the good end and purposes thereby intended, and to the promoting of the internal welfare, peace, and good government of the said Province, or to the maintenance of the just subordination to and conformity with the laws of Great Britain, that the manner of exercising the powers, authorities, and privileges aforesaid by the persons so annually elected, hath for some time past been such as had the most manifest tendency to obstruct and in great measure defeat the execution of the laws, etc.

“Be it therefore enacted by the King’s most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, so much of the charter granted by their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to the inhabitants of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and all and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained which relates to the time and manner of electing the assistants or counsellors for the said Province, be revoked, and is hereby revoked and made void and of none effect; and that the offices of all counsellors and assistants elected and appointed in pursuance thereof shall from thenceforth cease and determine; and that from and after the said first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the Council or court of assistants of the said Province, for the time being, shall be composed of such of the inhabitants or proprietors of lands within the same as shall be thereunto nominated and appointed by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from time to time by warrant under his or their signet or sign manual, and with the advice of the Privy Council agreeable to the practice now used in respect to the appointment of counsellors in such of his Majesty’s other Colonies in America the Governors whereof are appointed by commission under the great seal of Great Britain; provided that the number of the said assistants or counsellors, shall not at any one time exceed thirty-six nor be less than twelve.

“And it is hereby further enacted, That the said assistants or counsellors so to be appointed as aforesaid, shall hold their offices respectively for and during the pleasure of his Majesty, his heirs or successors; and shall have and en-

joy all the powers, privileges, and immunities at present held, exercised, and enjoyed by the assistants or counsellors of the said Province constituted and elected from time to time under the said charter (except as hereinafter excepted); and shall also, upon their admission into the said Council, and before they enter upon the execution of their offices, respectively take the oaths and make, repeat, and subscribe the declarations required, as well by the said charter as by any law or laws of the said Province now in force to be taken by the assistants or counsellors who have been so elected and constituted as aforesaid.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty’s Governor, for the time being, of the said Province, or, in his absence, for the Lieutenant-governor, to nominate and appoint under the seal of the Province, from time to time, and also to remove without the consent of the Council, all judges of the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, the attorney-general, provosts, marshals, justices of the peace, and other officers to the Council or courts of justice belonging; and that all judges of the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, the attorney-general, provosts, marshals, justices, and other officers so appointed by the Governor, or in his absence by the Lieutenant-governor alone, shall and may have, hold, and exercise their said offices, powers, and authorities as fully and completely to all intents and purposes as any judges of the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, attorney-general, provosts, marshals, or other officers, have or might have done heretofore under the said letters patent, in the third reign of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to annul or make void the commission granted before the said first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, to any judges of the Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, the attorney-general, provosts, marshals, justices of the peace, or other officers; but that they may hold and exercise the same as if this act had never been made, until the same shall be determined by death, removal by the Governor, or other avoidance as the case may happen.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty’s Governor, or in his absence for the Lieu-

tenant-governor, for the time being, of the said Province, from time to time, to nominate and appoint the sheriffs without the consent of the council, and to remove such sheriffs with such consent and not otherwise.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That upon every vacancy of the offices of Chief Justice and judges of the Supreme Court of the said Province, from and after the said first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the Governor, for the time being, or in his absence the Lieutenant-governor, without the consent of the Council, shall have full power and authority to nominate and appoint the persons to succeed to the said officers, who shall hold their commissions during the pleasure of his Majesty, his heirs and successors; and that neither the Chief Justice and judges appointed before the said first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, nor those who shall hereafter be appointed pursuant to this act shall be removed unless by the order of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, under his or their sign manual.

“Be it enacted, That from and after the said first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, no meeting shall be called by the select-men, or at the request of any number of freeholders of any township, district, or precinct, without the leave of the Governor, or in his absence of the Lieutenant-governor, in writing, expressing the special business of the said meetings first had and obtained, except the annual meetings in the months of March or May for the choice of select-men, constables, and other officers, or except for the choice of persons to fill up the offices aforesaid, on the death or removal of any of the persons first elected to such offices, and also except any meeting for the election of a representative or representatives in the general court, and that no other matter shall be treated of at such meetings, except the election of their aforesaid officers or representatives, nor at any other meeting except the business expressed in the leave given by the Governor, or, in his absence, by the Lieutenant-governor.

“And whereas, the method at present used in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in America, of electing persons to serve on grand juries and other juries by the freeholders and inhabitants of the several towns, affords occasion for many evil practices, and tends to pervert the free and impartial administration of justice; for remedy whereof, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the respective times appointed for the holding of the General Sessions of the Peace, in the several counties within the said Province, next after the month of September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the jurors to serve at the Superior Courts of Judicature, Courts of Assize, General Gaol Delivery, General Sessions of the Peace, and

Inferior Courts of Common Pleas, in the several counties within the said Province, shall not be elected, nominated, or appointed by the freeholders and inhabitants of the several towns within the said respective counties, nor summoned or returned by the constables of the said towns; but that, from thenceforth, the jurors to serve at the Superior Courts of Judicature, Courts of Assize, General Gaol Delivery, General Sessions of the Peace, and Inferior Court of Common Pleas, within the said Province, shall be summoned and returned by the sheriffs of the respective counties within the said Province; and all writs of *venire facias* to be issued for the return of jurors to serve at the said courts shall be directed to the sheriffs of the said counties respectively, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

ACT FOR SENDING CRIMINALS OUT OF MASSACHUSETTS FOR TRIAL.

"Anno Decimo Quarto Georgii III. Regis. An Act for the Impartial Administration of Justice in the Cases of Persons Questioned for any Acts Done by Them in Execution of the Law, or for the Suppression of Riots and Tumults, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England."

"Approved Friday, May 20, 1774.

"Whereas, in his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, an attempt has lately been made to throw off the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain over the said Province, and an actual and avowed resistance by open force to the execution of certain acts of Parliament, hath been suffered to take place uncontrolled and unpunished, in defiance of his Majesty's authority, and to the utter subversion of all lawful government; and whereas, in the present disordered state of the said Province, it is of the utmost importance to the general welfare thereof, and to the re-establishment of lawful authority throughout the same, that neither the magistrates acting in support of the laws, nor any of his Majesty's subjects aiding and assisting them therein or in the suppression of riots and tumults raised in opposition to the execution of the laws and statutes of this realm, should be discouraged from the proper discharge of their duty by an apprehension that, in case of their being questioned for any acts done therein, they may be liable to be brought to trial for the same before persons who do not acknowledge the validity of the laws, in the execution whereof, or the authority of the magistrate in the support of whom such acts had been done: in order therefore to remove every such discouragement from the minds of his Majesty's subjects, and to induce them upon all proper occasions to exert themselves in support of the public peace of

the Province, and of the authority of the King and Parliament of Great Britain over the same; Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That if any inquisition or indictment shall be found, or if any appeal shall be sued or preferred against any person for murder or other capital offence in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and it shall appear by information given upon oath to the Governor, or in his absence to the Lieutenant-governor of the said Province, that the fact was committed by the person against whom such inquisition or indictment shall be found, or against whom such appeal shall be sued or preferred as aforesaid, either in the execution of his duty as a magistrate for the suppression of riots, or in support of the laws of revenue, or in acting in his duty as an officer of revenue, or in acting under the direction and order of any magistrate for the suppression of riots, or for the carrying into effect the laws of the revenue, or in aiding and assisting in any of the cases aforesaid; and if it shall so appear to the satisfaction of the said Governor, or Lieutenant-governor respectively, that an indifferent trial cannot be had within the said Province, in that case it shall and may be lawful for the Governor or Lieutenant-governor to direct, with the advice and consent of the Council, that the inquisition, indictment, or appeal shall be tried in some other of his Majesty's Colonies or in Great Britain; and for that purpose to order the person against whom such inquisition or indictment shall be found, or against whom such appeal shall be sued or preferred, as aforesaid, to be sent under sufficient custody to the place appointed for his trial, or to submit such person to bail, taking a recognizance (which the said Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-governor is hereby authorized to take) from such person with sufficient sureties to be approved of by said Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-governor, in such sums of money as the said Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-governor, shall deem reasonable for the personal appearance of such person, if the trial shall be appointed, to be had in any other Colony, before the Governor, or Lieutenant-governor, or Commander-in-chief of such Colony, and, if the trial shall be appointed to be had in Great Britain, then before his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, at a time to be mentioned in such recognizance; and the Governor, or Lieutenant-governor, or Commander-in-chief of the Colony where such trial shall be appointed to be had, or Court of King's Bench where the trial is appointed to be had in Great Britain, upon the appearance of such person, according to such recognizance or in custody, shall either commit such person, or admit him to bail until such

trial; and which the said Governor or Lieutenant governor, or Commander-in-chief, and Court of King's Bench are hereby authorized and empowered to do.

"And to prevent a failure of justice from the want of evidence on the trial of any such inquisition, indictment, or appeal, Be it further enacted, That the Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-Governor, shall, and he is hereby authorized and required to bind, in recognizances to his Majesty, all such witnesses as the prosecutor or person against whom such inquisition or indictment shall be found, or appeal, sued or preferred, shall desire to attend the trial of the said inquisition, indictment, or appeal, for their personal appearance at the time and place of such trial to give evidence; and the said Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-governor, shall thereupon appoint a reasonable sum to be allowed for the expenses of every such witness, and shall thereupon give to each witness a certificate in writing, under his hand and seal, that such witness has entered into a recognizance to give evidence, and specifying the sum allowed for his expenses; and the collector and collectors of the customs, or one of them, within the said Province, upon the delivery of such certificate are, and is hereby, authorized and required forthwith to pay to such witness the sum specified therein for his expenses."

On the 30th August (1774), the Superior Court met in Boston. Proclamation being made and the list of grand jurors being called, the court appointed Ebenezer Hancock foreman. He refused to be sworn, and so did all the grand jurors. The petit jurors were then called; Bartholomew Kneeland was appointed foreman, when he, with all the petit jurors, in like manner, refused to be sworn. The Court inquired their reasons for this refusal; and they offered to read a paper, in which they had stated their reasons at length. The Court refused to have the papers of the classes of jurors read, and desired each juror to state his reasons. After some conversation on this point, the court consented to read the papers, and discharged the juries. The jurors thereupon published their reasons over their signatures, in the newspapers. The two papers assign similar reasons for refusing to swear, viz.:

"First. Because, Peter Oliver, the Chief Justice, had been impeached, by the late House of Representatives, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and had never been acquitted, but was declared by the House to be disqualified to act as judge of that court.

"Second. Because, by the late act of Parliament for altering the charter of the Province, the tenure of the judges had been made to depend on the pleasure of the Crown, the validity of which act they would never admit.

"Third. Because three of the judges—viz., Peter Oliver,

Foster Hutchinson, and William Brown, Esq's—'by taking the oath of counsellors under the aforesaid act, are (as we are informed) sworn to carry into execution all the late grievous acts of the British Parliament,' etc.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

THE proceedings of a meeting of the committees of every town and district in Middlesex county, Massachusetts, which was held at Concord on the 30th and 31st August, 1774, seems to have given the first intimation of the formation of a revolutionary government for the Province, and gave tone at the same time to similar meetings throughout all the Colonies. The similar action which took place in quick succession in the other counties shows that the plan was concerted by the leading men of the Province, in Boston, in advance of this county meeting.

The resolutions of this meeting begin by professing true loyalty to King George; and that "We by no means intend to withdraw our allegiance from him; but, while permitted the free exercise of our natural and charter rights, are resolved to expend life and treasure in his service."

The committee declare that the Parliament exercised a power contrary to the charter in passing the acts which claim absolute supremacy over the Province; by the act for blocking up the port of Boston; by the act entitled "An Act for the Better Regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay;" and by the "Act for the More Impartial Administration of Justice" in said Province.

They resolve "That it is the opinion of this body that the present act respecting the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay is an artful, deep-laid plan of oppression and despotism, and that it requires great skill and wisdom to counteract it. This wisdom we have endeavored to collect from the united sentiments of the country; and although we are grieved that we are obliged to mention anything that may be attended with such very important consequences as may now ensue, yet a sense of our duty as men, as freemen, as Christian freemen, united in the firmest bonds, obliges us to resolve that every civil officer now in commission in this Province, and acting in conformity to the late act of Parliament, is not an officer agreeable to our Charter, therefore

unconstitutional, and ought to be opposed in the manner hereafter recommended.

Accordingly, the meeting resolved "That we will obey all such civil officers now in commission whose commissions were issued before the 1st day of July, 1774, and support them in the execution of their offices, according to the manner usual before the late attempt to alter the Constitution of this Province; nay, though the Governor should attempt to revoke their commissions; but that if any of said officers shall accept a commission under the present plan of arbitrary government, or in any way or manner whatever assist the Governor or administration in the assault now making on our rights and liberties, we will consider them as having forfeited their commissions, and yield them no obedience."

In conformity with these declarations, the meeting resolve not to recognize the county judges, Samuel Danforth and Joseph Lee, nor to submit to their rule.

They accordingly declare that the county courts must cease, and that suits pending are to remain in the then present condition "till we know the result of a Provincial and Continental Congress. They pledge themselves to support all officers in disregarding the precepts of the court, if one should attempt to sit."

They resolve, "That it is the opinion of this body of delegates that a Provincial Congress is absolutely necessary in our present unhappy situation."

"Voted, That it be recommended to the several towns and districts in the county, that each appoint one or more delegates to attend a Provincial meeting, to be holden at Concord on the second Tuesday of October next."

The proceedings were ratified by one hundred and forty-six yeas to four nays.

Suffolk County.

The Suffolk county meeting took place on Tuesday, the 6th of September, 1774, at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward, of Dedham, and by adjournment at the house of Mr. Vose, of Milton, on Friday, the 9th of the same month. The preamble is expressed in a language of extreme bitterness, and breathes anything but a spirit of loyalty.

It begins as follows:

"Whereas the power, but not the justice, the vengeance, not the wisdom, of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and excited [exiled] our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity. And whereas this then savage and uncultivated desert was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valor, of those our vener-

able progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dear-bought inheritance; to our care and protection they consigned it; and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged by shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring," etc.

The first resolution, nevertheless, acknowledges George the Third as the rightful heir to the throne, and entitled to the allegiance of the colonists, "agreeable to compact."

The Suffolk meeting, in their resolutions, enumerated the same acts of Parliament that the Middlesex meeting complained of, as the justification of their refusal to obey the officers of the provincial government who should acknowledge the validity of those acts. They declare, "That no obedience is due from this Province to either or any part of the acts above mentioned; but that they be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America."

After declaring that they will obey no officer of the Province who acknowledges the validity of those acts of Parliament, they resolve:

"That it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, constables, and all other officers who have public money in their hands to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof to the Provincial County Treasurer until the civil government of the Province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed Provincial Congress."

Persons who should accept seats at the Council Board under the late act were denounced as "incorrigible enemies to this country."

Other resolutions in the same spirit were adopted.

County of Cumberland.

"FALMOUTH, Sept. 22, 1774.

"Met according to adjournment, when the committee presented the following report, which, after being read paragraph by paragraph, was unanimously accepted, viz.:

"We think it the indispensable duty of every subject of the English Constitution, for our own sakes, as well as that of future generations, to use his utmost care and endeavor, according to the station he is in, to preserve the same inviolate and unimpaired; for we regard it not only as the foundation of all our civil rights and liberties, but as a system of government the best calculated to promote the people's peace and happiness. And we lament that in the present administration there are men so lost to all principles of honour, equity, and justice as to attempt a violation of the rights which we have long enjoyed, and which, while we profess ourselves, as we now declare we do, allegiant subjects to George the Third, our rightful sovereign, we have a right

still to enjoy entire and unmolested; and it is a melancholy consideration that the acknowledged head of this respected state should be induced to pass his sanction to such laws as tend to the subversion of that glorious freedom which preserves the greatness of the British empire, and gives it reputation throughout all the nations of the civil world. It is too apparent that the British Ministry have long been hatching monstrous acts to break our Constitution, and some they have at length brought forth.

"We think the Colonies deserve a better treatment from his Majesty than this which he assents to. We are his loyal subjects, and merit his regard; and cannot help thinking that, if he would pursue his own unbiased judgment, and lay aside the selfish counsel of wicked and designing men, he and his subjects would be mutually happy, and provocations on both sides cease. But since the Ministry have borne their tyranny to such a length as to endeavor to execute their wicked designs by military force in our metropolis, we fear it is their aim to introduce despotic monarchy. But though their tyranny and oppression seem now with hasty strides to threaten all the Colonies with ruin and destruction, we hope no vengeance will affright, no wiles allure, us to give up our dear-bought liberty, that choicest boon of heaven, which our fathers came into these regions to enjoy, and which we therefore will retain while life enables us to struggle for its blessings.

"We believe our enemies supposed we must submit and tamely give up all our rights. It is true a vigorous opposition will subject us to many inconveniences; but how much greater will our misery be if we relinquish all we now enjoy and lay our future earnings at the mercy of despotic men? We cannot bear the thought; distant posterity would have cause to curse our folly, and the rising generation would justly execrate our memory.

"We therefore recommend a manly opposition to those cruel acts, and to every measure which despotism can invent to 'abridge our English liberties;' and we hope that patience will possess our souls till Providence shall dissipate the gloomy cloud and restore to us our former happy state.

"The late act for regulating the government of this Province we consider in particular as big with mischief and destruction, tending to the subversion of our charter and our Province laws, and, in its dire example, alarming to all the Colonies. This, through the conduct of some enemies among ourselves, will soon bring us into difficulties, which will require some able counsel to remove. We therefore recommend to each town in this county, to instruct their several representatives to resolve themselves, with the other members of the House at their approaching session into a Provincial Congress for this purpose."

Proceedings of York County Congress.

"We, his Majesty's loyal subjects, the delegates of the several towns of the county of York, deputed to meet in county Congress held at Wells the 16th day of November, 1774, truly professing ourselves liege subjects of his Majesty, King George the Third, and sincere friends to all our fellow-subjects in Britain and the Colonies,—for the necessary defence of our liberties and privileges, come into the following resolutions:

"1. Resolved, That his Majesty's subjects in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as well as in the other English-American Colonies, have full right and authority to tax themselves and grant their own moneys by their several general Assemblies, for all such purposes and in such manner as they shall see fit; and that no other state, province, or parliament whatever hath, or under the present Constitution of said Colonies can have, right or authority to grant the money of said subjects, or tax them in any other manner whatsoever; and therefore that the several acts of the British Parliament, made for the express purpose and design, not only of raising a revenue to his Majesty by duties to be laid on goods landed in said Colonies, but establishing a precedent for further illegal taxation of the people therein, are unconstitutional, unjust, and oppressive, and never ought to have force in the Colonies; and all subsequent acts made to enforce the same, more especially that for blocking up the port of Boston, are hostile, cruel, and arbitrary.

"2. Resolved, That all civil officers within this county, duly appointed by virtue of and pursuant to the Charter of William and Mary, ought to use and exercise the several powers and authorities to their respective offices belonging agreeable to the laws of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in the same way and manner, in every respect, intent, and purpose, as though the said acts had never been passed; and that all persons ought to aid, assist, and countenance them therein, and particularly that the *venires* for jurors for the several courts of justice in this county ought to be issued as heretofore has been used and accustomed, agreeable to the laws of the Province aforesaid; and that due obedience ought to be had thereto;—and that a spirit of peace, friendship, and harmony may subsist and be cultivated among the inhabitants of said county, the said Congress do recommend to them that they produce no suit against each other unless on some urgent necessity."

The Provincial Congress met at Salem, the 7th day of October, 1774.

"The Honorable John Hancock, Esq.," was chosen President, and Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., Secretary.

Among the first proceedings was to send a letter, through the Committee on the State of the Province, to the Governor, respectful and dignified in terms, but earnestly protesting against the erection of a fortress at the entrance of Boston harbor, and against the presence of troops.

The Committee on the State of the Province proposed the following resolution, which was considered and adopted, and ordered to be printed in the Boston newspapers, and attested by their secretary:

“Resolved, That the several constables and collectors of taxes throughout the Province, who have or shall have any money in their hands collected on Province assessments, be advised not to pay the same, or any part thereof, to the Honorable Harrison Gray, Esq.; but that such constables and collectors as have or shall have any county moneys in their hands, take and observe such orders and directions touching the same as shall be given them by the several towns and districts by whom they were chosen. And that the sheriffs and deputy-sheriffs of the several counties in the Province, who have in their hands any Province moneys, be also advised not to pay the same to the said Harrison Gray, Esq.; but that they retain the same in their hands respectively until the further advice of a Provincial Congress or order from a Constitutional Assembly of this Province. And that the present assessors of the several towns and districts in the Province be advised to proceed to make assessments of the tax granted by the great and General Court of the Province at their last May session, and that such assessments be duly paid, by the persons assessed, to such person or persons as shall be ordered by the said towns and districts respectively. And the Congress strongly recommend the payment of the tax accordingly.”

The Congress appointed Thursday, the 15th of December, “to be observed as a day of thanksgiving, to render thanks to Almighty God for all the blessings we enjoy; and, at the same time, we think it incumbent on this people to humble themselves before God, on account of their sins, for which he hath been pleased, in his righteous judgment, to suffer so great a calamity to befall us as the present controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies; as also to implore the divine blessing upon us,” etc.

On the 24th of October, several orders or resolutions were adopted with reference to arms and ammunition.

On the 25th, the Congress adopted a preamble and resolutions which provided for the defence and safety of the Province. A Committee of Safety was provided for in the first resolution, which was charged with the duty of governing the Province, and the citizens and the military were called on to obey its orders and regulations. The committee were authorized, “whenever they shall judge it necessary for

the safety and defence of the inhabitants of this Province, and their property, against such person or persons aforesaid, —viz. :—such as shall at any time ‘attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of this Province,’—in every such case the committee was required to alarm, muster, and cause to be assembled, with the utmost expedition, and completely armed, accoutred, and supplied with provisions sufficient for their support in their march to the place of rendezvous, such and so many of the militia of this Province as they shall judge necessary for the end aforesaid, and at such place or places as they shall judge proper, and then to discharge them as soon as the safety of the Province shall permit.”

Another committee was appointed to act as a commissary department. The higher officers of the militia were appointed by the Congress; and the several companies of the militia were authorized to elect company and field officers.

On the 28th, the Congress elected Henry Gardner, Esq., receiver-general, who was authorized to receive and take care of all public moneys. The tax-collectors, constables, and others who held public moneys were advised to pay them into his hands, who was authorized to receipt for the same.

Thus the Provincial Congress established a government for Massachusetts, independent, to all practical intents, of the Crown and Government of Great Britain.

It is scarcely necessary to add that this independent control of affairs by the people was never surrendered, but that it gradually ripened into a regular republican civil government. The next step in this process, which will be detailed in its proper place, was to elect a House of Representatives independent of the Crown and Parliament, by the advice and consent of the Continental Congress. This was in May and June, 1775. This independent House proceeded to elect the Council, as under the Charter; and to assume the reins of Government, under the style of the Territory of Maine and the Territory of New Plymouth. Thus was the authority of Great Britain thrown off, and with it the Provincial name, which was the badge of that authority. And this bold measure was taken while a British army was encamped on Massachusetts soil.

November.

The Provincial Congress reassembled, according to adjournment, on the 23d November. Meantime the operation of the Boston Port Bill had inflicted great injury upon, and caused the most severe hardships to, the people of the towns of Boston and Charlestown in particular, and the Colony in general. The trade of these places with the outer world was annihilated, and the traffic with the interior nearly so;

so that the Congress in October had seriously debated the propriety or necessity of removing the entire people of the town to the country, in order to save them from starvation. But the Congress in November presented the same undaunted front to the enemy, as at first. It adopted various measures for arousing, equipping, and rallying the people to a defence of their rights; and put forth a noble address "to the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay," which was well calculated to encourage the people and inspire them with patriotic feeling. After a few days' session, in which much business was transacted, they decided to dissolve, or adjourn *sine die*; at the same time calling upon the towns to elect other delegates to a new Congress, to meet in February, 1775. This dissolution of their body was adopted on the sound republican principle, declared by them, that, "Inasmuch as many states have been taught by fatal experience that powers delegated by the people for long periods have been abused to the endangering the public rights and liberties, and this Congress having just reason to suppose that their constituents, the good people of this Province, when they appointed their present delegates, were not apprehensive that the business necessary to be done would require their attention for any long time," therefore, as above stated, they resolved that "the Congress be dissolved."

Such were the honorable, disinterested, and patriotic motives that actuated the leading men of Massachusetts.

February, 1775.

The Provincial Congress met at Cambridge, Wednesday, Feb. 1, 1775. Their first important measure was to pass a resolve denouncing any one who should "presume to supply the troops now stationed at Boston, or elsewhere in said Province, with timber, boards, spars, pickets, tent-poles, canvas, bricks, iron, wagons, carts, carriages, intrenching-tools; or any materials for making any of the Carriages or implements aforesaid; with horses or oxen for draught; or any other materials whatever, that may enable them to annoy, or in any manner distress the inhabitants;" and that "he or they shall be held in the highest detestation, and deemed inveterate enemies to America, and ought to be prevented and opposed by all reasonable means whatever."

The word "ought," in the closing sentence, coming from the Provincial Congress in the then existing state of affairs, with the government of the Province in their control, was equivalent to an imperative command. But the spirit of the people jumped with the recommendations of the Congress, and mandatory language was not necessary to the making laws, or to giving orders.

A new Committee of Safety was appointed, with John

Hancock at its head, and of which Dr. Joseph Warren was a member. Their power as the executive authority of the Province was defined, and all military officers and people were called on, in the names of liberty, patriotism, and the public safety, to obey them. Their special duty was to call out the militia, whenever they might think it necessary to observe such persons as might attempt to carry into effect the obnoxious acts of Parliament. On the same day, the Congress adopted an address to the people, which, while it contains the noblest sentiments of liberty, refrains from any profession of loyalty to the Crown. The following are extracts:

Massachusetts Provincial Congress.

‘ Thursday, February 9, 1775.

“The committee appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of this Province having amended their report, the same was read, considered, and accepted, and ordered to be attested, and added to the pamphlet directed to be printed by this Congress, and is as followeth, viz.:

“To the Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay:

“Friends and Fellow-sufferers:—When a people entitled to that freedom which your ancestors have nobly preserved, as the richest inheritance of their children, are invaded by the hand of Oppression, and trampled on by the merciless feet of Tyranny, resistance is so far from being criminal, that it becomes the Christian and social duty of each individual.

“While you see the lives of your fellow-men in other nations sported with and destroyed, and their estates confiscated by their prince, only to gratify the caprice, ambition, or avarice of a tyrant, you ought to entertain and cultivate in your mind the highest gratitude to the Supreme Being for his having placed you under such a form of government as, when duly administered, gives the meanest peasant the same security in his life and property as his sovereign has in his crown.

“The constitution of government secures to each one subject thereto such an entire property in his inheritance and the fruit of his industry that they cannot be taken from him without his personal or representative consent; and as the evidence of entire property arises from the uncontrollable power of disposing, when your estates shall be brought into such a situation or under such a form of government as that they can be disposed of or granted by persons who are by no means accountable to you therefor, you cease to have anything more than a licensed and precarious property in them.

“Though we deprecate a rupture with the mother-state,

yet we must still urge you to every preparation for your necessary defence; for unless you exhibit to your enemies such a firmness as shall convince them that you are worthy of that freedom your ancestors fled here to enjoy, you have nothing to expect but the vilest and most abject slavery."

A committee was appointed to correspond with the other Colonies, of which Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Elbridge Gerry were members.

After an adjournment of a month, the Congress met again on the 22d March, and, in view of the impending hostilities, began to prepare for them. An elaborate series of Rules and Articles for the Government of the Army was adopted, the first of which requires that "All officers and soldiers not having just impediment, shall diligently frequent divine service and sermon," in the places where they may be stationed. Although strict obedience to the articles is "earnestly recommended," they go so far as to inflict the death penalty—a clear indication of the import of a Congressional recommendation.

THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

During these proceedings of the Congress, the Committee of Safety was actively engaged, in its executive capacity, in carrying out the orders of the Congress. All kinds of war-like supplies were purchased or manufactured. One fourth of the militia, so early as the 23d February, were called out, and provisions collected for their sustenance.

MASSACHUSETTS DECLARED BY PARLIAMENT TO BE IN REBELLION.

On the 7th February, 1775, the House of Lords adopted the joint address from the Commons to the King, in which Massachusetts was declared to be in rebellion. Thanking his Majesty for having communicated several papers relating to America, the address proceeds to say "We have taken them into our most serious consideration, and we find that a part of your Majesty's subjects, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, have proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the supreme legislature; that a rebellion at this time actually exists within the said Province; and we see, with the utmost concern, that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by your Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies, to the injury and oppression of many of their innocent fellow-subjects resident within the kingdom of Great Britain and the rest of your Majesty's dominions. . . .

"At the same time we consider it our indispensable duty

humbly to beseech your Majesty that you will take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authorities of the supreme legislature; and we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to assure your Majesty that it is our fixed resolution, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to stand by your Majesty against all rebellious attempts in the maintenance of the just rights of your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament."

This address was regarded by the Colonists as equivalent to a declaration of war.

Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill need not be described in this brief history of Revolutionary "movements." The events enacted on the 19th April and the 17th June were "movements upon the works of the enemy," and speak for themselves.

On the 23d April, four days after the battles of Lexington and Concord, the Provincial Congress resolved "that 30,000 men are necessary to be forthwith raised in the New England Colonies," "and that of that force 13,600 shall be established by this Colony without delay."

May 16, 1775, the Provincial Congress took an important step for the restoration of regular civil government, independent of the Crown of Great Britain. They applied to the Continental Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, for the advice and consent of that body to the proceeding. This consent was accorded, in a resolution of June 9th, accompanied by the suggestion that, as no obligation rested on the people to obey the acts of Parliament which abrogated the Charter of the Colony, the people ought to elect a House of Representatives, and that the House ought to elect a Council in disregard of that law. This suggestion was at once acted on, and the first House of Representatives thus constituted met, July 19th, at Watertown. On the 21st, the House elected the Councillors, eighteen in number, for the territory of Massachusetts Bay; four for the territory formerly called New Plymouth; three for the territory formerly called the Province of Maine, and one Councillor for the territory lying between the river Sagadahock and Nova Scotia. They also elected two Councillors-at-large. So the Revolutionary council was composed of twenty-eight members; and the repudiation of the ancient loyal designations "Colony" and "Province" shows clearly that the House of Representatives expected and intended henceforth to remain independent of Great Britain—of its Parliament, at any rate, if not of the Crown. For it must be remembered that the word "territory," at that time, had not acquired the conventional signification in America that it now has, implying subordination to another power; or, if any such meaning was attached to it, the higher power referred to was the Continental Congress, and not the Parliament of England.

On the 1st of April, 1776, the General Court of Massachusetts resolved to alter the style of writs and other legal processes, and substituted "the people and government of Massachusetts" for the name of the King. Also they ceased to date official papers according to the year of the King's reign, substituting in its place the year of our Lord. "Early in May, likewise," says Barry, "an order was passed and published, by which the people of the several towns in the Province were advised to give instructions to their respective representatives, to be chosen for the following political year, on the subject of independence." "It is not contended," continues Barry, "that this was the first instance in which such a proposition was publicly made; for North Carolina had, two weeks before, authorized her delegates to join with the other Colonies in declaring independence; and Rhode Island and Connecticut had indicated their inclination by dispensing with the oath of allegiance to the King, though a month elapsed before the Connecticut Assembly instructed their delegates to vote for independence."—Barry's History of Massachusetts, vol. 3, page 98.

The returns from the town elections showed that nearly the whole population was ripe for independence.

MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"May 10, 1776. }

"Resolved, as the opinion of this House, That the inhabitants of each town in this Colony ought, in full meeting warned for the purpose, to advise the person or persons who shall be chosen to represent him in the next General Court whether that, if the honorable Congress should, for the safety of the said Colonies, declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will solemnly engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure.

"SAMUEL FREEMAN, Speaker."

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

It was the fortune of New Hampshire, for the third of a century prior to the Revolution, to be under the rule of wise and conciliatory governors, who, if they were not too scrupulous to enrich themselves by disreputable and illegal acts of extortion and peculation, knew well, nevertheless, the arts of popularity; and during that long period, which in other Colonies was a period of strife, irritation, and alienation from the mother-country, they managed to preserve a loyal and peaceful temper among the people of the Granite Colony. The first of these governors, Benning Wentworth, was appointed in 1741; and in 1766 he was permitted to re-

sign under well-grounded charges of extorting illegal and exorbitant fees for passing patents for lands.

He was succeeded by his nephew, John Wentworth, who was equally prudent and politic, and not more scrupulous than his uncle. A brief account of his career, taken from Belknap's judicious history of New Hampshire, will serve the twofold purpose of accounting for the exceptionally pacific temper of the New Hampshire people at the beginning of the Revolutionary events in the adjacent Colony of Massachusetts, and throw light upon the state of morals which ruled among the governing classes in Great Britain at that time.

Upon the accession of the nephew, the expectation that inquiry would be made into the practices of the uncle was disappointed. Things went on smoothly during the life time of the latter, who was ever treated with respect and consideration; and it was understood that the bulk of his estate, he having no children, would go to his nephew and successor in office. But at his death a later will was found, by which his estate was bequeathed to his young widow. This will produced a great commotion in the Wentworth family, and in the Colony. "Antiquated claims upon the late Governor's estate," says Belknap, "were revived; and law-suits were commenced which probably would not have been agitated if the expected disposition had been made." But the most alarming effect of this unhappy disappointment was a question which the Governor moved in Council, "whether the reservations of five hundred acres, in several townships, made by the late governor, Benning Wentworth, in the charter grants, conveyed the title to him." The Council determined this question in the negative. The Governor then asked whether they would advise him to grant the said tracts to such of his Majesty's subjects as should settle and cultivate the same. To this they gave their assent. Seven of the Councillors present on this occasion were the Governor's relations. The eighth was Peter Levius, a gentleman of foreign extraction, who entered his dissent. He had for several years served as a Justice of the Common Pleas; but on the division of the Province into counties, it was necessary to issue new commissions. Finding himself overlooked in the appointment of officers, and his private affairs calling him abroad, he sailed for England, and there exhibited, to the Lords of Trade, articles of complaint against the Governor and his Council.

"The first was that the Governor and Council, without any legal process or the intervention of a jury, had deprived the grantees, under the Crown, of their lands, on suggestion only, that the conditions had not been fulfilled.

"The second was that the duty paid by foreign shipping, commonly called powder-money, had not been accounted

for since the year 1741; and that the Council had refused to join with the Representatives in an inquiry into this matter in the year 1768.

"The third was that the Governor had moved, in Council, that the lands reserved to the late Governor, in the charters of townships, should be regranted to himself through the medium of another person; and that the protest of the complainant against the legality of this proceeding was rejected.

"The fourth was that, in consequence of the opposition which he was in duty bound thus to make, he had been injuriously treated, and had received personal abuse from the Governor.

"The fifth was that, pending an action in the Common Pleas, brought by the Governor, though in other names, the judges had several times been changed, till a question on a point of law was determined in favor of the Governor.

"The sixth article stated that the complainant expected to prove several of the above facts, by referring to copies of the Council records in their lordships' office; but was surprised to find that the Governor had disobeyed his instructions in not sending them.

"The memorial concluded with a general charge of partiality arising from the family connections of the Governor and Council."—Belknap.

The Governor and Council, having been furnished with copies of the charges, denied them severally, and gave their explanations of the facts involved, with depositions, "from persons of all ranks and professions, testifying in favor of the Governor."

Belknap proceeds to relate that, "These being laid before the Lords of Trade, and the memorialist being heard in reply, the board represented to the King that the complaint against the Governor 'had been fully verified.' At the same time they thought it their duty to represent, that the reports which they had received, through different channels, of the situation of affairs within New Hampshire, did all concur in representing the Colony to have been, since Mr. Wentworth's appointment, in a state of peace and prosperity; that its commerce had been extended, and the number of its inhabitants increased; and that every attempt made to excite the people to disorder and disobedience had been, by the firm and temperate conduct of Mr. Wentworth, suppressed and restrained."

The cause was reheard before a committee of the Privy Council, and their report on it would in these days be styled a "white-washing report." The main facts were admitted to be true; but an attempt was made to explain them away and to exculpate the Governor, on various pretexts and technicalities, from all the damaging inferences to be drawn from them; and, on the whole, they conclude that there

"was no foundation for any censure upon the said Governor for any of the charges contained in the complaint, and that the general conduct of his administration had tended greatly to the peace and prosperity of the said Province."

"This report," says Belknap, "was approved by the King in Council, and the complaint was dismissed. But the Governor was strictly enjoined to transmit to the Lords of Trade authentic copies of the journals of the Council, as a council of state."

The candor and love of official integrity which this decision of the Privy Council and King display can be judged of in the light of the fact which follows, viz., that Mr. Levius was immediately appointed Chief Justice of New Hampshire, doubtless with a view of closing his mouth to further charges against so good a Governor. It was thought prudent, however, on mature consideration, to transfer the accuser to the Province of Quebec, where a more lucrative office was given him.

Belknap further states that, "When the final issue of the complaint was known in New Hampshire, a general satisfaction appeared among the people. At the next session of the Assembly, the House of Representatives presented to the Governor an address of congratulation, in the name of their constituents; and the citizens of Portsmouth gave a splendid ball, to which the Governor and both Houses of Assembly were invited."

These events transpired in the years 1772 and 1773. Up to the close of the latter year, nothing of a serious nature had occurred to alienate the people from their governors. Their plans for enriching themselves had been carried on mainly at the expense of the Crown, in appropriating the public lands to themselves or in charging exorbitant fees to the grantees of those lands. During the Stamp Act controversy, they had sided rather with the people than with the government, and used their influence to procure the repeal of that obnoxious act; but the time was now come when it was impossible for a royal governor to keep terms with the people. For some time after the passage of the new act of 1767, for taxing the Colonies on the articles of tea, paper, glass, and painters' colors, the Governor had sufficient influence and popularity, by the aid of his numerous wealthy friends and connections, "who were the principal families and richest merchants of the Province," to prevent the adoption of a non-importation agreement in Portsmouth; and the Sons of Liberty of that place wrote to their friends in Boston: "We cannot depend on the countenance of many persons of the first rank here; for royal commissions and family connections influence the principal gentlemen among us, at least to keep silence in these evil times." The people were nevertheless in sympathy with those of Massachusetts

and the other Colonies, and the discussion and agitation were kept up until the Parliament was induced to repeal the duties on all the articles except tea. This, however, was enough to keep alive the fears and resentments of the people; and the efforts to put the law in force caused new combinations for non-intercourse, and gave rise to renewed acts of open resistance, especially in Massachusetts. "In New Hampshire," says Belknap, "the prudence of Governor Wentworth, the vigilance of the magistrates, and the firmness of the people were combined, and the hateful commodity was sent away without any damage and with but little tumult."

The following letter from the committee of Portsmouth, N. H., to the committee of Boston, is from the American Archives, vol. 1 (4th series), page 337:

Extracts.

"PORTSMOUTH, May 19, 1774.

"We think the late act of Parliament, to shut up the port of Boston of the most extraordinary nature and fatal tendency. Administration are taking every method to disunite the Colonies, thereby to render the noble opposition to their destructive measures abortive. We hope a firm union of all the Colonies will still subsist, and that such a plan may be devised and resolutely pursued by all as may prevent the cruel effects of this act.

"We heartily sympathize with you under your present difficult and alarming situation; and we will exert ourselves to carry any plan into effect which may be concerted by the Colonies for the general relief. We sincerely wish you resolution and prosperity in the common cause, and shall ever view your interest as our own. And are with the highest esteem," etc.

"The first cargo of tea," says Belknap, "consisting of twenty-seven chests, was landed and stored at the Custom-house (at Portsmouth, June 25, 1774) before any people could assemble to obstruct it. A town meeting was called, and a proposal was made to Mr. Parry, the consignee, to re-ship it. To this he consented. A guard was appointed by order of the town to watch the Custom-house. The tea having been entered, it was necessary that the duty should be paid, which was done openly by the consignee. The Governor convened the Council, and kept the magistrates and peace officers in readiness to suppress any riotous appearances; but there was no need of their exertion. The tea was peacefully reshipped and sent to Halifax.

"A second cargo of thirty chests, which came consigned to the same person, raised a small ferment, and the windows of his lodgings were broken. He applied to the Governor

for protection. The Governor, as before, summoned the Council and magistrates. The town, by their committee, prevailed on the consignee to send the tea to Halifax, after having paid the duty, without which the ship could not legally be cleared at the Custom-house.

"A general detestation of the measures pursued by the British Ministry, to rivet the chains on America, universally prevailed. The towns had severally passed resolves asserting their right of exemption from all taxation by Parliament, condemning the importation and use of tea, and appointing committees of inspection to carry their resolutions into effect. The committees were vigilant, and, being aided by the general sentiment of the people, their exertions were successful."

"At the meeting of the Assembly of New Hampshire, in the spring (May 10, 1774), the House of Representatives, conformably to the proceedings of the Assemblies in the other Colonies, appointed a Committee of Correspondence. The Governor, who had in vain labored to prevent this measure, adjourned the Assembly, and after a few days dissolved it, hoping by this means to dissolve the committee also. But they were not restricted by forms. On a summons issued by the committee, the Representatives met again, in their own chamber. The Governor, attended by the sheriff of the county, went among them. They rose at his entrance. He declared their meeting illegal, and directed the sheriff to make open proclamation for all persons to disperse, and keep the King's peace. When he had retired, they resumed their seats, but, on further consideration, adjourned to another house, and, after some conversation, wrote letters to all the towns in the Province, requesting them to send deputies to hold a convention at Exeter, who should choose delegates for a general Congress, and to pay their respective quotas of two hundred pounds, agreeably to the past proportion of the Provincial tax. They also recommended a day of fasting and prayer, to be observed by the several congregations on account of the gloomy appearance of public affairs. The day was observed with religious solemnity. The money was collected. Eighty-five deputies were chosen and met at Exeter, where they delegated Nathaniel Folsom and John Sullivan, Esquires, to attend the proposed Congress at Philadelphia in September, and delivered to them the money which had been collected, to defray their expenses. They also recommended the distressed state of Boston to the commiseration of their brethren in New Hampshire; and contributions were raised in many of the towns for their relief.

"The Governor was now convinced, and in his letters to the Ministry acknowledged 'that the union of the Colonies would not be lost in New Hampshire.' At the same time, he

did the people the justice to say that they had abstained from violence and outrage, and that the laws had their course. In his letters, which were published by the Ministry, there appears a spirit of candor towards the people, as well as a desire to recommend himself to the approbation of his superiors."

In December, 1774, the Committee of Safety of Portsmouth learning that a British ship of war would soon arrive to take possession of Fort William and Mary, at the entrance of the harbor, "with all possible secrecy and despatch, collected a company from that and some of the neighboring towns; and before the Governor had any suspicion of their intentions, they proceeded to New Castle and assaulted the fort." The garrison, consisting of only five men, was confined, and one hundred barrels of powder were carried off. The next day fifteen of the lightest cannon and all the small arms were removed. Major John Sullivan and Captain John Langdon, subsequently sent as delegates to Philadelphia, were the leaders of this movement.

The following letters are taken from the first volume of the American Archives (4th series):

Governor Wentworth to Governor Gage.

"PORTSMOUTH, N. H., December 14, 1774.

"SIR: I have the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 9th instant, with the letter from the Secretary of State, which were both delivered to me on Monday evening last by Mr. Whiting.

"It is with the utmost concern I am called upon, by my duty to the King, to communicate to your Excellency a most unhappy affair perpetrated here this day.

"Yesterday afternoon Paul Revere arrived in this town, express from a committee in Boston to another committee in this town, and delivered his despatch to Mr. Samuel Cutts, a merchant of this town, who immediately convened the committee, of which he is one, as I learned, and laid it before them. This day, about noon, before any suspicion could be had of their intentions, about four hundred men were collected together, and immediately proceeded to his Majesty's Castle William and Mary, at the entrance of this harbor, and forcibly took possession thereof, notwithstanding the best defence that could be made by Captain Cochran (whose conduct has been extremely laudable, as your Excellency will see by the inclosed letter from him), and by violence carried off upwards of one hundred barrels of powder, belonging to the King, deposited in the Castle. I am informed that expresses have been circulated through the neighboring towns to collect a number of people to-morrow or as soon as possible, to carry away all the cannon and

arms belonging to the Castle, which they will undoubtedly effect unless some assistance should arrive from Boston in time to prevent it. This event too plainly proves the imbecility of this government to carry into execution his Majesty's order in council, for seizing and detaining arms and ammunition imported into this Province, without some strong ships of war in this harbor; neither is this Province or Custom-house treasury in any degree safe, if it should come into the mind of the popular leaders to seize upon them.

"The principal persons who took the lead in this enormity are well known. Upon the best information I can obtain, this mischief originates from the publishing of the Secretary of State's letter, and the King's order in Council at Rhode Island, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain, and the proceedings in that Colony in consequence of it, which have been published here by the fore-mentioned Mr. Revere, and the despatch brought, before which all was quiet and peaceable here,

"I am, etc.,

"J. WENTWORTH.

"To the Honorable Governor Gage."

Captain Cochran, Commander of Fort William and Mary, in New Hampshire, to Governor Wentworth, dated December 14, 1774:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: I received your Excellency's favor of yesterday, and, in obedience thereto, kept a strict watch all night, and added two men to my usual number, being all I could get. Nothing material occurred till this day, one o'clock, when I was informed there was a number of people coming to take possession of the fort; upon which, having only five effective men with me, I prepared to make the best defence I could, and pointed some guns to those places where I expected they would enter. About three o'clock the fort was besieged on all sides, by upwards of four hundred men. I told them, on their peril, not to enter; they replied they would; I immediately ordered three four-pounders to be fired on them, and then the small arms, and before we could be ready to fire again we were stormed on all quarters, and they immediately secured both me and my men and kept us prisoners about one hour and a half, during which time they broke open the powder-house and took all the powder away except one barrel; and having put it into boats and sent it off, they released me from my confinement.

"To which I can only add that I did all in my power to defend the fort; but all my efforts could not avail against so great a number.

"I am your Excellency's, etc.,

"JOHN COCHRAN."

Extracts of a letter from Governor Wentworth to Governor Gage, dated Portsmouth, New Hampshire, December 16, 1774:

"On Wednesday last, at 12 o'clock, an insurrection suddenly took place in this town, and immediately proceeded to his Majesty's castle, attacked, overpowered, wounded, and confined the captain, and thence took away all the King's powder. Yesterday, numbers more assembled, and last night brought off many cannon, etc., and about sixty muskets. This day the town is full of armed men, who refuse to disperse, but appear determined to complete the dismantling the fortress entirely. Hitherto the people abstain from private or personal injuries; how long they will be so prevailed on, it is impossible to say. I must sincerely lament the present distraction which seems to have burst forth by means of a letter from William Cooper to Samuel Cutts, delivered here on Tuesday last, P.M., by Paul Revere. I have not time to add further on this melancholy subject.

"P. S.—The populace threaten to abuse Colonel Fenton, because he has to them declared the folly of their conduct, and that he will do his duty, as a justice, in executing the laws. They will never prevail on him to retract, if all the men in the Province attack him. If I had two hundred such men, the castle and all therein would yet have been safe. At this moment the heavy cannon are not carried off, but how soon they may be, I cannot say."

Extract of a letter from Exeter, in New Hampshire, dated January 2, 1775:

"At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of this town, held here last Monday, among other things, it was voted unanimously to adopt the Association of the Continental Congress, and a numerous committee was chosen to see the same, was duly observed, and strictly adhered to.

"At the same meeting, five deputies were appointed to assist at the Convention to meet here the 25th instant, for the choice of delegates to represent this Province at the Continental Congress proposed to be held at Philadelphia in May next; and the said deputies were empowered to join with the other deputies of the Convention in choosing a committee of their body to proportion the sum to be allowed such delegates among the several towns and parishes in this Government. It was also voted not to suffer any hawkers, pedlers, or petty chapmen to sell or expose to sale among us any goods, wares, or merchandise.

"It is the opinion of many that if this vote, with the law of the Province, should prove ineffectual to prevent the intrusion of such persons, an experiment ought to be made of tar and feathers."

Epsom (New Hampshire) Resolves:

"At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of

Epsom, held on Monday, January 9, 1775, deputies were chosen to meet at Exeter on the 25th instant, agreeable to the letter sent to that town for the purpose.

"Whereas, The grand Continental Congress has recommended a non-importation and non-consumption of goods to be the most effectual method to ease our deplorable situation; and, as we view the Scotch merchants and traders in general to be no friends to our country, and are altogether for self-interest and lucrative gain, and, to accomplish their designs, have filled the country with hawkers, pedlers, and petty chapmen, with their lawns, cambrics, ribbons, etc., tempting women, girls, and boys with their unnecessary fineries, which is a moth to our country, and a damage to all honest merchants and traders that are true friends to our country, and that deal upon honor, and to prevent all such diabolical proceedings for the future:

"Resolved, That no pedlers, hawkers, or petty chapmen shall be tolerated for the future to sell or dispose of any goods, of whatsoever name or nature, in said town, upon no less penalty than receiving a new suit agreeable to the modern mode, and forfeiture of their goods.

A committee of inspection was then chosen to see that the above resolve is carefully executed.

PROVINCIAL CONVENTION.

"At the Convention of Deputies, appointed by the several towns in the Province aforesaid, held at Exeter on the 25th day of January, 1775, there were present one hundred and forty-four members.

"Hon. John Wentworth, Esq., president. Voted unanimously, That we heartily approve of the proceedings of the late grand Continental Congress, respecting the just state of the rights and liberties of the British Colonies, and of the means recommended to restore, secure, and protect the same; and that we return our most unfeigned thanks to the late members of that Congress in general, and to those of this Province in particular, for the faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in them.

"Voted, That John Sullivan and John Langdon, Esqrs., be delegates to represent this Province in the Continental Congress proposed to be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May next; and that they, and each of them in the absence of the other, have full and ample power in behalf of this Province to consent and agree to all measures which said Congress shall deem necessary to obtain redress for American grievances.

"Voted, That two hundred and fifty pounds lawful money be raised for defraying the expenses of said Delegates.

"Voted, That the Honorable John Wentworth, Esq., Colonel Nathaniel Folsom, Honorable Mesheck Weare, Esq.,

Colonel Josiah Bartlet, Colonel Christopher Tappan, Ebenezer Thompson, and William Whipple, Esqrs., be a committee in behalf of this Province, to call a Provincial Convention of Deputies when they shall judge the exigencies of public affairs require it; and that they, together with Samuel Cutts and John Pickering, Esqrs., be a Committee of Correspondence for this Province.

“Voted, The following address :

“To the Inhabitants of the Province of New Hampshire—

“BRETHREN: When we consider the unhappy condition to which you and your American brethren are reduced; when we reflect that for near ten months past you have been deprived of any share in your own Government, and of those advantages which flow to society from legislative assemblies; when we view the lowering clouds charged with Ministerial vengeance, fast spreading over this extensive continent, ready to burst on the heads of its inhabitants, and to involve the whole British Empire in one common ruin; at this alarming juncture, duty to Almighty God, to our country, ourselves, and posterity loudly demands our most strenuous exertions to avoid the impending danger. Such are the measures adopted by the British Ministry for enslaving you, and with such incessant vigilance has their plan been prosecuted, that tyranny already begins to wave its banners in your borders, and to threaten those once happy regions with infamous and detestable slavery.

“Shall we, knowing the value of freedom, and nursed in the arms of liberty, make a base and ignominious surrender of our rights, thereby consigning succeeding generations to a condition of wretchedness from which perhaps all human efforts will be insufficient to extricate them?

“Duty to ourselves and regard for our country should induce us to defend our liberties and to transmit the fair inheritance to our posterity unimpaired.

“We therefore earnestly recommend,—

“1st. That you discountenance and discourage all trespasses and injuries against individuals and their property, and all disorders of every kind; and that you cultivate and maintain peace and harmony among yourselves.

“2d. That you yield due obedience to the magistrates within this Government, and carefully endeavor to support the laws thereof.

“3d. That you strictly adhere to the Association of the late Continental Congress, and deal with the violators of it in the manner therein recommended.

“4th. That you endeavor particularly to enforce the laws of the Province against hawkers, pedlers, and petty chapmen.

“5th. That you abstain from the use of East India tea whenever or by whatever means it has or may be imported.

"6th. That you encourage and support your several Committees of Correspondence and Inspection in discharging the very important trust you have reposed in them.

"7th. That, in case any inhabitant of these Colonies should be seized in order to be transported to Great Britain, or other parts beyond seas, to be tried for offences supposed to be committed in America, you conduct yourselves agreeable to the advice of the late Continental Congress.

"11th. That, as the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, are now laboring under a load of Ministerial vengeance, laid upon them to enforce obedience to certain arbitrary and unconstitutional acts, which, if once submitted to, must involve all America in slavery and ruin; conscious that all these Colonies are largely indebted to the virtue and fortitude of those patriotic assertors of freedom, we heartily recommend a continuation of your contributions for the relief of that oppressed people; and that you keep yourselves in constant readiness to support them in their just opposition whenever necessity may require."

When news of the battles of Lexington and Concord reached New Hampshire, the people of that, as of the other, Colonies, took up arms and flew to the assistance of their brethren of Massachusetts.

A new convention, very fully attended, assembled at Exeter early in June; they passed votes of thanks to those who had seized the powder and arms at Fort William and Mary, and to those who had made a more recent seizure at Jerry's Point. The committee of Portsmouth early in July forcibly took the public records out of the hands of the Secretary of State; and from this time forward the King's government became a mere shadow in New Hampshire, while all real power was in the hands of the Provincial Congress, and the Committee of Safety acting as an executive.

An attempt had been made by the Governor to strengthen his party in the legislature by issuing writs of election to new and inconsiderable townships. While older and more populous towns were overlooked. When the Assembly met, the first step taken by the House was the expulsion of three of these members.

The Governor then adjourned the Assembly. "One of the expelled members having spoken his mind freely without doors, was assaulted by the populace, and took shelter in the Governor's house. The people demanded him and brought a gun mounted on a carriage to the door, upon which the offender was delivered up and conveyed to Exeter." The Governor retreated to the Fort, and his house was pillaged by the mob. The Assembly met July 11th, and received a message from the Governor, still resident in the Fort, by which he adjourned them to the 28th September. But this

was the end of royal government. The Assembly never met again, and the Governor soon after went on board a ship of war to Boston.

In November, steps were taken to reorganize the government on a more permanent footing. The Convention asked the advice of the Continental Congress, which was given to the effect that a convention should be called to agree upon a plan of government. Their first scheme was to establish a single representative body; but in the course of six months the Delegates became convinced "that it was improper for a representative assembly to consist of one house only." They accordingly adopted for themselves the name of a House of Representatives, and proceeded to elect twelve Councillors to constitute a distinct branch of the legislature. These were chosen from the several counties, in proportion to population. This was early in January, 1776. In future elections, the people were to elect Councillors, as well as members of the House of Representatives. A Committee of Safety was appointed to act as an executive. The president of the Council was to be president of this Committee. Upon the adoption of this plan of government, the convention made this declaration, viz.:

"We conceive ourselves reduced to the necessity of establishing a form of government to continue during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain; protesting and declaring that we never sought to throw off our dependence on Great Britain, but felt ourselves happy under her protection whilst we could enjoy our constitutional rights and privileges; and that we shall rejoice if such a reconciliation between us and our parent-state can be effected as shall be approved by the Continental Congress, in whose prudence and wisdom we confide."

Thus in advance of the Declaration of Independence was a government, entirely free from British control, established in New Hampshire; and on the 15th June, 1776, the Assembly of New Hampshire instructed their Delegates to the Continental Congress to vote for independence:

"Saturday, June 15, 1776.

"The House met according to adjournment.

"The draught made by the committee of both Houses, relating to independence, and voted as the sense of this House as in the preceding page, is as follows, viz.:

"Whereas, It now appears an undoubted fact that, notwithstanding all the dutiful petitions and decent remonstrances from the American Colonies, and the utmost exertions of their best friends in England on their behalf, the British Ministry, arbitrary and vindictive, are yet determined to reduce by fire and sword our bleeding country to their absolute obedience; and for this purpose, in addition to

their own forces, have engaged great numbers of foreign mercenaries, who may now be on their passage here, accompanied by a formidable fleet, to ravage and plunder the sea-coast; from all which we may expect the most dismal scenes of distress the ensuing year, unless we exert ourselves by ever means and precaution possible;

"And whereas, We of this Colony of New Hampshire have the example of the most respectable of our sister-Colonies before us, for entering upon that most important step of disunion from Great Britain, and declaring ourselves free and independent of the Crown thereof, being impelled thereto by the most violent and injurious treatment, and it appearing most necessary in this most critical juncture of our public affairs, that the honorable Continental Congress who have this most important object under their immediate consideration, should be also informed of our resolution thereon without loss of time;—We do hereby declare that it is the opinion of our Assembly that our Delegates at the Continental Congress should be instructed, and they are hereby instructed, to join with the other Colonies in declaring the thirteen united Colonies a free and independent state, solemnly pledging our faith and honor that we will on our parts support the measure with our lives and fortunes; and that in consequence thereof they, the Continental Congress, on whose wisdom, fidelity, and integrity we rely, may enter into and form such alliances as they may judge most conducive to the present safety and future advantage of these American Colonies, provided the regulation of our internal police be under the direction of our own Assembly.

"Entered according to the original.

"Attest:

"NOAH EMERY, Clerk."

Connecticut.

Having already explained the character of the act of Parliament of 1767, for taxing tea, it is needless to restate it in this place. Connecticut was one of the earliest of the Colonies to enter into the non-intercourse agreement, by which the tax was rendered of no other effect than that of serving to alienate the affections of the Colonists from the mother-country. In August, 1768, a non importation agreement was formed between the merchants of Connecticut and those of New York. It was as follows:

"We will not import, on our own account or on commission, or purchase of any who shall import, from any other Colony in America, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, any tea, glass, paper, or other goods commonly imported from Great Britain," etc.

A public meeting was held at Glastenbury, August 27, 1770, to appoint Delegates to a general convention to be held

September 13th at New Haven. Its object was stated to be to "Resolve upon such measures as are proper to be taken for the support of the non-importation agreement, so important at this critical juncture to the plantations in America belonging to the British Crown." Two Delegates were appointed, who were directed to support to the uttermost the non-intercourse agreement. Complaint was made of bad faith on the part of the New York merchants. Similar town meetings were held all over the Colony, at which the most determined and patriotic resolutions were adopted. It seems that no record of the convention of September 13th has been preserved, or at least no reference is made to it by the historian. Much enthusiasm sprang up in favor of domestic manufactures. The women, no less than the men, agreed to wear nothing but home-spun. "Committees of inspection were appointed by the towns to see that no man or woman should infringe upon the sanctity of the non-importation agreement. These committees were by no means idle. The gentleman who wished to drink a glass of brandy or other imported liquor, and dame who felt that her patriotism needed the gentler stimulant of tea, were obliged to keep the tempting beverage out of sight and watch a secret moment to nourish the cherished appetite. Woe betide the wretch who should be caught in the act of transgression! If a male, publication in the *Gazette*, the cry of the populace at his heels, and the insults of every boy who was large enough to shout the word 'Liberty,' was the least that he could expect, even should he be fortunate enough to escape the tenacious affinities of tar and feathers. If a woman, it were better for her that she should never have been born. No sighs were in reserve to be breathed in her ears by the young or the brave, though her face were fair as an angel's; and those of her own sex were sure to turn from her as if her eye had in it an evil charm."—Hollister, vol. 2, page 149.

The spirit of the people will be indicated by the following resolutions:

"FARMINGTON, Conn., May 19, 1774.

"Early in the morning was found the following handbill, posted up in various parts of the town:

"To pass through the fire at 6 o'clock this evening in honor to the immortal Goddess of Liberty, the late infamous act of the British Parliament for further distressing the American Colonies; the place of execution will be the public parade, where all Sons of Liberty are desired to attend."

"Accordingly, a very numerous and respectable body were assembled of near one thousand people, when a huge pole, just forty-five feet high, was erected and consecrated to the shrine of Liberty; after which the act of Parliament, for blocking up the Boston harbor, was read aloud, sentenced to the flames, and executed by the hands of the common hangman. Then the following resolves were passed, *nem. con.*:

“1st. That it is the greatest dignity, interest, and happiness of every American to be united with our parent state, while our liberties are duly secured, maintained, and supported by our rightful sovereign, whose person we greatly revere; whose government, while duly administered, we are ready with our lives and properties to support.

“2d. That the present Ministry, being instigated by the Devil, and led on by their wicked and corrupt hearts, have a design to take away our liberties and properties, and to enslave us forever.

“3d. That the late act which their malice has caused to be passed in Parliament, for blocking up the port of Boston, is unjust, illegal, and oppressive; and that we, and every American, are sharers in the insults offered to the town of Boston.

“4th. That these pimps and parasites who dared to advise their master to such detestable measures, be held in utter abhorrence by us, and every American, and their names loaded with the curses of all succeeding generations.

“5th. That we scorn the chains of slavery; we despise every attempt to rivet them upon us; we are the Sons of Freedom: and resolved that, till time shall be no more, that Godlike virtue shall blazen our hemisphere.”—*American Archives* (4th series), vol. 1.

The passage of the Boston Port Bill by the British Parliament everywhere awakened among the people of Connecticut a lively sympathy with their Massachusetts brethren. At the May session of the General Assembly, energetic measures were taken to prepare the Colony for war: arms were collected, officers were appointed, and military companies were formed. A series of resolutions were adopted, which assert the exclusive right of the people of the Colony to tax themselves, by their representatives, in their General Assembly; deny the right of taxation to the British Parliament; condemn the establishment of Admiralty Courts in America, which take away the common-law jurisdiction, as unconstitutional; and declare that the acts of Parliament which shut up the port of Boston and take away the chartered rights of that Colony are subversive of liberty. The resolutions are as follows:

Connecticut Resolutions:

“In the House of Representatives of the English Colony of Connecticut, on the second Thursday in May, 1774, this House, taking into their serious consideration sundry acts of the British Parliament, in which their power and right to impose duties and taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, are declared, attempted to be exercised, and in various ways enforced and carried into execu-

tion; and especially a very late act, in which pains and penalties are inflicted on the capital of a neighboring Province,—a precedent justly alarming to every British Colony in America, and which, being admitted and established, their lives, liberties, and properties are at the mercy of a tribunal where innocence may be punished upon the accusation and evidence of wicked men, without defence, and even without knowing the accuser—a precedent calculated to terrify them into silence and submission, whilst they are stripped of their invaluable rights and liberties;—do think it their duty, and expedient at this time, to renew their claim to the rights, liberties, and immunities of free-born Englishmen, which they are justly entitled to by the laws of nature, by the Royal Grant and Charter of his late Majesty King Charles the Second, and by long and uninterrupted possession; and thereupon do declare and resolve as follows, viz.:

“1st. In the first place we do most expressly declare, recognize, and acknowledge his Majesty King George the Third to be the lawful and rightful King of Great Britain, and all other his dominions and countries; and that it is the indispensable duty of this Colony, as being part of his Majesty's dominions, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty, and them to defend, to the utmost of their power, against all attempts upon his person, Crown, or dignity.

“2d. That the subjects of his Majesty in this Colony ever have had, and of right ought to have and enjoy, all the liberties, immunities, and privileges of free and natural born subjects within any of the dominions our said King, his heirs and successors, as fully and amply as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England. That they have a property in their own estate, and are to be taxed by their own consent only, given in person or by their representatives, and are not to be disseized of their liberties or free customs, sentenced, or condemned but by lawful judgment of their peers; and that the said rights and immunities are recognized and confirmed by the inhabitants of the Colony, by the Royal Grant and Charter aforesaid, and are their undoubted right to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.

“3d. That the only lawful representatives of the freemen of this Colony are the persons they elect to serve as members of the General Assembly thereof.

“4th. That it is the just right and privilege of his Majesty's liege subjects of this Colony to be governed by their General Assembly in the article of taxing, and internal police, agreeable to the powers and privileges recognized and confirmed in the royal Charter aforesaid, which they have enjoyed for more than a century past, and have neither forfeited nor surrendered, but the same have been constantly recognized by the King and Parliament of Great Britain,

"5th. That the erecting new and unusual Courts of Admiralty, and vesting them with extraordinary powers, above, and not subject to the control of the Common-law Courts in this Colony, to judge and determine in suits relating to the duties and forfeitures contained in said acts foreign to the accustomed and established jurisdiction of the former Courts of Admiralty in America, is, in the opinion of this House, highly dangerous to the liberties of his Majesty's subjects in America, contrary to the great Charter of English liberty, and destructive of one of their most darling rights—that of trial by juries, which is justly esteemed one chief excellence of the British Constitution, and a principal branch of English liberty.

"6th. That the apprehending and carrying persons beyond the sea to be tried for any crime alleged to be committed within this Colony, or subjecting them to be tried, by commissioners, or by any court constituted by act of Parliament, or otherwise, within this Colony in a summary way, without a jury, is unconstitutional and subversive of the liberties and rights of the free subjects of this Colony.

"7th. That any harbor or port, duly opened and constituted, cannot be shut up and discharged but by an act of the legislature of the Province or Colony in which such harbor or port is situated, without subverting the rights and liberties, and destroying the property, of his Majesty's subjects.

"8th. That the late act of Parliament inflicting pains and penalties on the town of Boston, by blocking up their harbor, is a precedent justly alarming to the British Colonies in America, and wholly inconsistent with and subversive of their constitutional rights and liberties.

"9th. That whenever his Majesty's service shall require the aid of the inhabitants of this Colony, the same fixed principles of loyalty, as well as self-preservation, which have hitherto induced us fully to comply with his Majesty's requisitions, together with the deep sense we have of its being our indispensable duty (in the opinion of this House), will ever hold us under the strongest obligations, which can be given or desired, most cheerfully to grant his Majesty, from time to time, our further proportion of men and money for the defence, protection, security, and other services of the British-American dominions.

"10th. That we look on the well-being and greatest security of this Colony to depend (under God) on our connection with Great Britain, which, it is ardently wished, may continue to the latest posterity; and that it is the humble opinion of this House that the Constitution of this Colony, being understood and practised upon as it has, ever since it existed (till very lately), is the surest bond of union, confidence, and mutual prosperity of our mother-country and us,

and the best foundation on which to build the good of the whole, whether considered in a civil, military, or mercantile light; and of the truth of this opinion we are the more confident as it is not formed on speculation only, but has been verified in fact, and, by long experience found to produce, according to our extent and other circumstances, as many loyal, virtuous, industrious, and well-governed subjects as any part of his Majesty's dominions; and as truly zealous of, and as warmly engaged to promote, the best good and real glory of the grand whole which constitutes the British Empire.

"11th. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to our King, our country, ourselves and our posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend, and preserve these our rights and liberties, and to transmit them entire and inviolate to the latest generations; and that it is our fixed, determined, and unalterable resolution faithfully to discharge this our duty.

"At their sessions at Hartford on the second Thursday of May, 1774, in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, the foregoing resolutions reported to the House by their Committee were unanimously voted and ordered to be entered on their Journal or Record."—American Archives (4th Series), vol. 1, p. 355.

On the 6th June, a town meeting in Norwich, "being legally warned and convened,"

"Voted, That we will, to the utmost of our abilities, assert and defend the liberties and immunities of British America; and that we will co-operate, with our brethren in this and other Colonies, in such reasonable measures as shall, in a General Congress, or otherwise, be judged most proper to relieve us from the burdens we now feel, and secure us from greater evils we fear will follow from the principles adopted by the British Parliament respecting the town of Boston."—American Archives (4th Series), vol. 1st, page 390.

"June 23, 1774, a town meeting was held at Glastonbury, which appointed a Committee of Correspondence in order 'to promote and forward such contributions as shall be made in this town for the relief of our distressed friends in Boston.' The Committee, composed of Col. Elizur Talcott, Mr. William Willis, Captain Elisha Hollister, Mr. Ebenezer Plummer, Mr. Isaac Mosely, Mr. Thomas Kimberly, and Mr. Josiah Hale, forwarded with the resolutions an eloquent address, in which they say: 'We cannot but deeply sympathize with you under the gloomy prospects which at present are before you on account of those oppressive acts of Parliament which have been lately passed, respecting Boston in particular and the Province of Massachusetts Bay in general. Especially when we consider that our liberties and

privileges are so nearly and indissolubly connected with yours, that an encroachment upon one, at least, destroys all the security of the other. It seems that the Parliament of Great Britain are determined to reduce America to a state of vassalage ; and unless we all unite in the common cause, they will undoubtedly accomplish their design. . . . You may depend on us, and we believe all Connecticut, almost to a man, to stand by you and assist you in the defence of our invaluable rights and privileges, even to the sacrificing of our lives and fortunes, in so good a cause. . . . We are informed that your House of Representatives have appointed a time for a meeting of the General Congress, in which we hope all the Colonies will concur, and that a non-importation and non-exportation agreement will be immediately come into, which, we doubt not, will procure the desired effect ; and notwithstanding the gloomy aspect of things at present, we cannot but look forward with fond hopes and pleasing expectations to that glorious era when America, in spite of all the efforts of her enemies to the contrary, shall rise superior to all opposition, overcome oppression, be a refuge for the oppressed, a nurse of liberty, a scourge to tyranny, and the envy of the world ;—then (if you stand firm and unshaken amidst the storm of ministerial vengeance) shall it be told, to your everlasting honor, that Boston stood foremost in the cause of liberty, when the greatest power on earth was striving to divest them of it ; and by their noble efforts, joined with the united virtue of her sister-Colonies, they overcame, and thereby transmitted to posterity, those invaluable rights and privileges which their forefathers purchased with their blood.’”

This address is as remarkable for its prophetic as for its bold and patriotic spirit.

Extract from the proceedings of the town meeting in Windham, in Connecticut:

“June 23, 1774.

“We cannot close this meeting without expressing our utmost abhorrence and detestation of those few in a devoted Province styling themselves ministers and merchants, barristers and attorneys, who have, against the sense and opinion of this vast continent, distinguished themselves in their late fawning, adulating address to Governor Hutchinson, the scourge of the Province which gave him birth, and the pest of America. His principles and conduct evidenced by his letters and those under his approbation are so replete with treason against his country, and with the meanest of self-exaltation, as cannot be palliated by art, nor distinguished by subtlety. We esteem those addresses a high-handed insult on the town of Boston and the Province of Massachusetts Bay in particular, and all the American Colonies in general. Those styled merchants may plead their

profound ignorance of the Constitutional rights of Englishmen as an excuse, in some degree. But for those who style themselves barristers and attorneys they have either assumed a false character, or they must in some measure be acquainted with the Constitutional rights of Englishmen, and those of their own Province. For them to present such an address is a daring affront to common-sense, a high insult on all others of the profession, and a treason against law; and from that learned profession who are supposed to be well acquainted with the English Constitution, and have the best means and are under the greatest advantages to defend the rights of society, and who have been famed as the greatest supporters of English liberties,—for any of them to make a sacrifice of their all to this pagod of vanity and fulsome adulation, is mean, vile, and unpardonable, and cannot be accounted for upon any other principles but those of their master, who would sacrifice his country to be the independent head of a respectable Province, and the few leaders of this infamous law band would, it seems, give their aid and support therein to obtain the first places in this new kingdom. The addressing clergy we leave to the reproaches of their own consciences, but lament to find they are the first in their ignominious homage to their idol.”

In September of this year, 1774, a Dr. Beebe was “tarred and feathered” at East Hampton, on the charge of being a Tory. He could not obtain a warrant of arrest against the perpetrators of the outrage, from a magistrate, the latter excusing himself on the ground that it could not be executed.

On the 15th September, 1774, a delegate meeting was held at Hartford, representing the counties of Hartford, New London, and Windham, and a part of the county of Litchfield. A pledge was given that they would strictly observe a non-importation agreement about to be entered into by the Continental Congress; and denouncing in advance all who should attempt to disregard it.

The following is the report of the proceedings:

“At a meeting of delegates from the towns in the counties of Hartford, New London, and Windham, and a part of the county of Litchfield, held at Hartford, in Connecticut, on the 15th of September, 1774.

“William Wolcott, Esq., chairman.

“Captain Samuel Wyllys, Clerk.

“This meeting, taking into their serious consideration the absolute necessity of a non-consumption agreement, as shall be recommended by the general Congress of Delegates, from all the free British Colonies in America, now convened at Philadelphia, and also that their opinion and resolution thereon hath not been yet fully made known to the delegates from this Colony, in said Congress, Do declare and resolve,

"That, in case the said general Congress shall recommend a non-importation of British goods only, or of British and West India goods, we will enter into a solemn contract and agreement not to purchase or consume any articles that shall be prohibited by such non-importation agreement, and use our utmost endeavors to render the same general and effectual; and we do hereby make known that we have in general been assured by the towns we represent that they will readily accede to adopt and religiously observe such non-consumption agreement as aforesaid.

"And whereas, This meeting is informed that great quantities of English and India goods are ordered by sundry sordid and avaricious men in our neighboring Colonies to be purchased in England and imported this fall to give them an unreasonable advantage and prevent the salutary effects of a non-importation agreement,

"Resolved, That such mercenary wretches whose avarice can seek for gratification in the distress and ruin of their country are wholly unworthy of our confidence, friendship, or support; and that our non-consumption agreement may be useful to any good purpose, we will not purchase any merchandise of them, or transact any business for them, or suffer them to transact any for us, but will wholly withdraw from them, and leave them to the consolation of possessing and contemplating the curious movements of British industry and American slavery, which they would so greedily amass to themselves for such sordid and wicked purposes; and shall consider in the same light, and treat in the same manner, every person that shall purchase any such goods of them, or do business for them, or employ them in their business.

"Resolved, That the Committee of Correspondence for the several towns were present be desired to make diligent inquiry after the persons who have ordered goods as aforesaid, and inform the next county and Colony meeting of what they shall discover, that their names may be published, their conduct exposed, and their persons avoided.

"Resolved, That if any merchant or trader in the towns aforesaid shall attempt to engross any great or unusual quantity of goods, with design to forestall and elude a non-importation agreement, we will find ways and means, without violating his private rights, to defeat his views and make him sensible that virtue and public spirit will be more for his interest than low selfishness and avarice can be. These measures, dictated by necessity, we enter upon for the preservation of our liberties, which we have received from our Creator; and may not resign or suffer to be ravished from us. At the same time it is the warmest wish of our hearts that the wisdom and equity of the British Parliament may relieve us from our fears and danger, and that we may once

more and forever look up to our parent country with confidence and pleasure, and, secure of our own rights, contribute all in our power to promote the honor, interest, and happiness of our elder brethren in Great Britain; and,

"Whereas, We cannot yet be advised what measures the general Congress will recommend, and therefore are unable at present to adjust the particulars of a non-consumption agreement, we think it may be of use to the merchants and traders in the aforesaid towns to be made acquainted with our resolutions aforesaid, and that we determine in proper time to carry them into execution,

"Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Hartford, for their care and attention to the interest of the public in calling this meeting; and that they be desired to call a Colony meeting at a suitable time and place to finish the business now begun and entered upon, taking the advice of the Committee of Correspondence for the towns of Windsor, Wethersfield, and Middletown therein.

"The foregoing resolutions voted and passed, *nemine contradicente*.

"SAMUEL WYLLYS,

"Clerk of the Meeting."

On the 4th September, a false report, which was spread over Connecticut, to the effect that the British troops had attacked the people of Boston and killed several citizens, served to bring out the determined spirit of the people of Connecticut. Before the rumor could be contradicted, many thousand men were under arms, and were marching or ready to march to the defence of that town.

Stamford (Connecticut) Town Meeting.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Stamford, legally warned and convened, on the 7th day of October, 1774:

"The inhabitants of this town, sensibly affected with the distresses to which the town of Boston and Province of Massachusetts Bay are subjected by several late unconstitutional acts of the British Parliament, and also viewing the Quebec Bill, whereby the Roman Catholic religion is established over a great part of his Majesty's extensive continent of America, as an attempt not barely to destroy our civil liberties, but as an open declaration that our religious privileges, which our fathers fled their native country to enjoy, are very soon to be abolished (hoping to convince the people of this extensive continent that, notwithstanding our long silence, we are by no means unwilling to join with our sister-towns to assert our just rights and oppose every design of a corrupt Ministry to enslave America), do declare that we acknowledge our subjection to the Crown of Great Britain, and

all the constitutional powers thereto belonging, as established in the illustrious house of Hanover, and that it is our earnest desire that the same peaceable connection should subsist between us and the mother-country that has subsisted for a long time before the late unconstitutional measures adopted by the Parliament of Great Britain; and we hope that some plan will be found out by the General Congress to effect the reconciliation we wish for; yet we are determined in every lawful way to join with our sister-Colonies resolutely to defend our just rights and oppose all illegal and unconstitutional acts of the British Parliament that respect America.

"That we are pleased that a Congress of Deputies from the Colonies is now met at Philadelphia, and, relying upon the wisdom of that body, we declare that we are ready to adopt such reasonable measures as shall by them be judged for the general good of the inhabitants of America.

"Voted, That Messrs. John Lloyd and Samuel Hutton, Captain Samuel Young, Captain David Hait, and Charles Weed, be a committee to receive subscriptions for the supply of the poor in the town of Boston who suffer in consequence of an act of Parliament called the Port Act; and that the said committee cause anything that shall be collected to be transported to the care of the Committee of Ways and Means in the town of Boston, to be employed by them as they shall think fit. The above is a true copy of record, it being a very full meeting—almost an unanimous vote.

S. JARVIS,

"Town Clerk."

Danbury (Connecticut) Town Meeting.

"At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Danbury in Connecticut, December 12, 1774,

"Captain Thomas Stevens, Moderator,

"The town took into consideration the present alarming situation of the American Colonies from several late unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, and feeling deeply impressed with a sense of our common danger, we should have earlier manifested our sense of the natural and constitutional rights we are or ought to be possessed of, and of the wanton infringement made upon them by the oppressive plan of policy now prosecuting by the British Ministry, were it not that we thought there was the greatest propriety in waiting till they were stated by a general Congress lest, by every town's attempting particularly to state them, there might be a disagreement in their claims, which might occasion disunion among ourselves and give cause of triumph to our enemies. But our rights and the infringements of them having been particularly stated by the late American Congress, in their resolutions, or Bill

of Rights, which, from the best knowledge and information we are able to obtain, we apprehend to be accurately and judiciously done ;—we do therefore,—

“(1) Declare our full concurrence with said resolutions, as trully stating the rights and privileges we mean to defend, and the oppressive infringements we mean to oppose, to the extent of those abilities which God and Nature have furnished us with.

“(2) We do heartily approve of the Association containing a non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption agreement, entered into by the General Congress as the most salutary, wise, and probable measure for obtaining redress of the grievances we labor under; and will use our utmost endeavors to render the same effectual by a full compliance therewith ourselves, and by treating with deserved neglect any one who shall dare, in opposition to the voice of America, by counteracting this agreement, to seek his own emolument to the endangering the liberties of his country. And, that such as break through this agreement and refuse to be reclaimed by gentler means, may be held up to public view as objects to be shunned and avoided by every friend to liberty and lover of his country, we have appointed the following gentlemen a committee for the purpose specified in the eleventh article of said Association, viz.: Doctor John Wood, Thaddeus Benedict, and Daniel Taylor, Esqrs., Lieutenant Noble Benedict, Colonel Joseph Platt Cook, Captain Silas Hamilton, Samuel Taylor, Esq., Messrs. Andrew Comstock, James Sisly, Daniel Benedict, and Richard Shute, Captain Thomas Stevens, and Mr. Joseph Bebee.

“(4) It is with singular pleasure we notice the second article of the Association, in which it is agreed to import no more negro slaves, as we cannot but think it a palpable absurdity so loudly to complain of attempts to enslave us, while we are actually enslaving others; and that we have great reason to apprehend the enslaving the Africans is one of the crying sins of our land, for which Heaven is now chastising us. We notice also with pleasure the late act of our General Assembly imposing a fine of one hundred pounds on any one who shall import a negro slave into this Colony. We could also wish that something further might be done for the relief of such as are now in a state of slavery in the Colonies, and such as may hereafter be born of parents in that unhappy condition.

“(5) As we look upon the town of Boston to be suffering in the common cause of American liberty, we would manifest our hearty sympathy with them in their present calamitous state, and readiness to administer, to the relief of their suffering poor, according to our abilities; and do accordingly recommend to the several inhabitants of this town to contribute liberally of money or provisions. For this purpose

we have appointed Captain Daniel Starr, Messrs. John McLean, Zadock Benedict, and Andrew Comstock a committee to receive such donations and transmit the same to the committee appointed to receive them in the town of Boston. Our being so late in contributing to their relief hath not arisen from our having been unconcerned spectators of their distressed condition; but hearing of the laudable zeal of others, we were ready to conclude there was a sufficient present supply, and that our donations would be more needed and more acceptable in some future time.

"Voted by a large majority.

"MAJOR TAYLOR,

"*Town Clerk.*"

FAIRFIELD (CONNECTICUT) COMMITTEE.

"At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Fairfield, Connecticut, held by adjournment on the 29th day of December, A.D. 1774,

"Ebenezer Silliman, Esq., Moderator,

"This meeting having duly considered the agreement and association entered into by the Continental Congress lately held at Philadelphia, do heartily approve thereof and adopt the same, and take this opportunity to express their most grateful sense of the good services of the worthy delegates from this Colony who attended said Congress.

"Voted, That if any person or persons shall directly or indirectly, with intent to dissuade, disunite, or otherwise prevent us from strictly complying with and conforming to said agreement and association, publish, send, or sell, or otherwise dispose of any books, pamphlets, or publications in this town directly tending thereto, such person or persons shall be dealt with and exposed in the same way and manner as is prescribed in said eleventh article for such person or persons as violate said agreement and association."

Mr. Hollister, the historian, whose narrative has been followed, states that the battle of Lexington, "growing out of an attempt to seize military stores, led to a movement, originating in Connecticut, and paid for out of the treasury of that Colony, that resulted in the capture of Ticonderoga, and in the seizure of all its guns and munitions for the use of the Colonies. The general Assembly was in session when the news of the battle of Lexington reached Hartford, and the plan was entered into of surprising Ticonderoga, without any ostensible action of the Assembly, but with their tacit assent.

"Several gentlemen borrowed money, to pay the expenses of the expedition, from the Colonial treasury, and gave their individual obligations with security."

The names of the signers to the notes were Samuel Holden

Parsons, Silas Deane, Samuel Wyllis, Samuel Bishop, Jr., William Williams, Thomas Munford, Adam Babcock, Joshua Porter, Jesse Root, Ezekiel Williams, and Charles Wells. The amount borrowed was 810 pounds; and two years afterwards, the notes were cancelled by order of the Assembly.

"A Committee was appointed by the leaders of this daring project," continues Hollister, "to complete all the arrangements. This Committee selected sixteen Connecticut men, and then proceeded to Berkshire, where they elicited the sympathy and co operation of some of the principal gentlemen of the place, and a re-enforcement of about forty men. They then advanced to Bennington, where they were joined by Colonel Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and about one hundred volunteers. After stopping there long enough to bake bread and provide themselves with such other necessities as they needed, this little company of one hundred and fifty picked men followed Colonel Allen to Castleton, whither he had preceded them with a view of raising more troops."

At Castleton they met Colonel Allen with reinforcements, and "Their numbers now amounted to two hundred and seventy men, most of them Green Mountain boys, who, born in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and inured to the rough warfare of border life, in contending with the executive officers, and defying the authority of the Provincial legislature of New York, had become wild and free in all their actions and opinions as the green ridges whence they took their name. Sentries were now posted on all the roads leading to Ticonderoga, to prevent the news of the enterprise being carried to the garrison by the Tories."

At this point the party was joined by Benedict Arnold, who had been commissioned as a colonel by the Massachusetts authorities; but as he brought no troops with him, Allen very properly refused to give way to him, but agreed to accept him as an aid. The fort, which was garrisoned by about fifty men and officers, was surprised by Allen, and surrendered at discretion almost without bloodshed. This event happened May 10, 1775. Crown Point, garrisoned by only a sergeant and twelve men, surrendered on the same day to Captain Warner.

A British sloop of war lay at the head of the lake, Champlain. A plan was formed for its capture. A small schooner was armed and fitted out, of which Arnold was put in command. Allen commanded some batteaux which were to accompany the schooner and aid in the attack. But Arnold sailed far ahead and without difficulty, surprised and captured the sloop, though larger and better armed than the assailant. So the whole expedition was a success, and infused great enthusiasm throughout the Colonies. The arms

and ammunition captured made a very considerable addition to the meagre equipments of the Americans. Hollister concludes his account of these events as follows: "It was, as we have seen, from the beginning a Connecticut measure, conceived by gentlemen from that Colony, approved by her general Assembly, carried out by officers who were born in her towns of Litchfield, Woodbury, and Norwich, and paid for, as our State papers still show, from her treasury. Thus Connecticut had the honor, of which neither envy nor falsehood have been quite able to rob her, of striking the first aggressive blow at the British power in America." But Connecticut will generously concede to the people who inhabited the disputed territory which afterwards became the State of Vermont a large share in the glory of this achievement.

Connecticut had the honor, among all the Colonies, of having the only patriot Governor at the commencement of hostilities. This was Jonathan Trumbull. Like Rhode Island, she had always enjoyed the right, under her charter, of electing her Governors, which fact accounts for the singular distinction. When news arrived of the battle of Lexington, he immediately "despatched a messenger to Colonel Putnam, directing him to repair forthwith to Lebanon." Like Cincinnatus, the Connecticut hero, when called to the defence of his country, was found at the plow-handles; and left the plow in the unfinished furrow, and, after giving some hasty directions to his servants, hurried home, mounted his horse, and rode off at a full gallop. He found the "rebel Governor" ready to receive him. The interview was brief. "Hasten forward to Concord," said his Excellency; "don't stay for troops. I will take care of that—hurry forward, and I will send the troops after you." These initial facts are sufficient to indicate the spirit which animated the leading men of Connecticut, without following up the brilliant history of their actions.

On the 14th June, 1776, Governor Trumbull convoked "the general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut, in New England, in America." On the same day the following preamble and resolution was adopted.

"Instructions to Connecticut Delegates in the Continental Congress, to vote for independence.

CONNECTICUT ASSEMBLY, }
June 14, 1776.

"Whereas, the King and Parliament of Great Britain, by many acts of said Parliament, have claimed and attempted to exercise powers incompatible with and subversive of the ancient, just, and constitutional rights of this and the other English Colonies in America, and have refused to listen to their many and frequent humble, decent, and dutiful petitions for redress of grievances and restoration of such their

rights and liberties; and, turning from them with neglect and contempt to support such claims, after a series of accumulated wrong and injury, have proceeded to invade said Colonies with fleets and armies to destroy our towns, shed the blood of our countrymen, and involve us in the calamities incident to war; and are endeavoring to reduce us to an abject surrender of our natural and stipulated rights, and subject our property to the most precarious dependence on their arbitrary will and pleasure, and our persons to slavery; and have at length declared us out of the King's protection; have engaged foreign mercenaries against us, and are evidently and strenuously striving to effect our ruin and destruction;—these and many other transactions, too well known to need enumeration, the painful experience of which we have suffered and feel, make it evident, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that we have nothing to hope from the justice, humanity, or temperate councils of the British King or his Parliament; and that all hopes of reconciliation upon just and equal terms are illusory and vain. In this state of extreme danger, when no alternative is left us but absolute and indefinite submission to such claims as must terminate in the extreme of misery and wretchedness, or a total separation from the King of Great Britain, and renunciation of all connection with that nation, and a successful resistance to that force which is intended to effect our destruction; appealing to that God who knows the secrets of all hearts, for the sincerity of former declarations of our desire to preserve our ancient and constitutional relation to that country, and protesting solemnly against their oppression and injustice which have drawn us from them, and compelled us to use such means as God in his providence hath put in our power for our necessary defence and preservation,—

“Resolved unanimously by this Assembly, that the Delegates of this Colony, in General Congress, be and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such Declaration when they shall judge it expedient and best, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, or any plan of operations for necessary and mutual defence; and also that they move and promote, as fast as may be convenient, a regular and permanent plan of Union and Confederation of the Colonies for the security and preservation of their just rights and liberties, and for mutual defence and security: saving that the administration of government, and the power of forming governments for, and the regulation of, the internal concerns and police of each Colony ought to be left and remain to the re-

spective Colonial legislatures, and also that such plan of confederation be laid before such respective legislatures for their previous considerations and assent."

RHODE ISLAND.

The enactment of the duty on tea in May, 1767, by Parliament was the signal for the renewal of angry controversy between the Colonies and the mother-country. There had existed an export duty on this article, of one shilling per pound, which was in reality as great an infringement of the rights of the Colonies as the more direct duty which was substituted in its place. Great Britain might lawfully declare that no tea should be re-exported from her shores to foreign nations without paying a tax; but to require it on teas sent to her Colonies, which Colonies at the same time were not allowed to buy in other than English markets, was as arbitrary and as unjust as the direct tax which the Act of 1767 required to be collected in the Colonial ports. The new act was really an abatement of the amount of the tax, as it only imposed threepence per pound. But it was a direct and offensive mode of asserting the right of the Parliament to tax the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever"—a declaration which accompanied the repeal of the Stamp Act. The roundabout mode of collecting twelvecence in England on the export of tea, although four times heavier than the import duty of threepence, to be collected in the Colonial ports, by men sent from England, was felt to be a more intolerable burthen. And whereas the greater tax thus imposed might have been borne for an indefinite length of time without serious complaint, the lesser became the signal for resistance from one end of the Continent to the other, and, more than any other one measure of government, caused the triumphant Revolution and the loss of "the brightest jewel in the British Crown." The American Revolution was achieved on a principle, as well as on account of the practical and serious injuries that were inflicted on the Colonists.

The publication of the new Revenue Act, in October, 1767, in the Colonies, was immediately followed by public meetings, first in Boston, and then in Providence and Newport, in which "it was resolved to discontinue the use of British goods and the consumption of all unnecessary articles." "Thus the combination spread rapidly throughout the Colonies, and the agreements were everywhere signed." The Assembly reasserted the exclusive right of the Colonies to tax themselves, and enacted "that special courts and Common Pleas might be held for the Custom-house officers charged with violations of the fee list established by the Colony, or with neglect of duty; the decision of such courts to be final."

In July, 1769, "the British armed sloop *Liberty*, Captain Wm. Reid, cruising in Long Island Sound and Narragansett Bay, in search of contraband traders, had needlessly annoyed all the coasting craft that came in her way. Two Connecticut vessels, a brig and a sloop, were brought into Newport on suspicion of smuggling. An altercation ensued between the captain of the brig and some of the *Liberty's* crew, in which the former was maltreated and his boat fired upon from the vessel. The same evening the people obliged Reid, while on the wharf, to order all his men, except the first officer, to come on shore to answer for their conduct. A party then boarded the *Liberty*, sent the officer on shore, cut the cable, and grounded the sloop at the Point. There they cut away the mast and scuttled the vessel, and then carried her boats to the upper end of the town and burnt them. This was the first overt act of violence offered to the British authorities in America. Meanwhile the two prizes got under way and escaped. Governor Wanton, at the request of the collector and comptroller, issued a proclamation for the arrest of the offenders, and the Revenue Board at Boston offered a reward of one hundred pounds sterling to any one who would inform against them; but without effect."—See Arnold, vol. 2, p. 207.

In 1772, another collision between the British Revenue Marine and the people, similar to the affair of the *Liberty*, but on a greater scale, occurred. In the spring of that year the people were greatly annoyed by the British schooner *Gaspee*, of eight guns, which with the *Beaver* had been stationed in Narragansett Bay to enforce the revenue laws. "Lieutenant Duddington, the commander, had practised every annoyance upon vessels in the Bay, detaining them often without a colorable pretext, stopping even market boats, and in some cases plundering the people on shore. He had violated the Charter of the Colony in acting without showing his commission, and had exceeded his authority by making illegal seizures and sending captured property to Boston for trial, contrary to an act of Parliament that required such trials to be held in the Colony where the seizure was made." Chief Justice Hopkins gave the opinion "that no commander of any vessel has a right to use any authority in the body of the Colony without previously applying to the Governor and showing his warrant for so doing, and also being sworn to a due exercise of his office." The Governor accordingly sent the sheriff on board the schooner, "with a letter to the commanding officer, requiring him to produce his commission and instructions." Duddington returned an arrogant reply, and inclosed the correspondence to Admiral Montagu, at Boston. The Admiral sustained the Lieutenant, and addressed an insolent letter to Governor Wanton, in which he threatened, if an attempt were made to rescue the

prizes, that he would "hang as pirates" the parties concerned. The Governor replied, with spirit, "that I do not receive instructions for the administration of my government from the King's Admiral stationed in America;" and having laid the correspondence before the Assembly, that body sent copies of it to England, with a narrative of the events to which it related.

At length "The sloop Hannah, Captain Benjamin Lindsey, from New York, arrived at Newport, reported at the Custom-house, and the next day proceeded up the river. The Gaspee, as usual, gave chase, but ran aground on Namquit, since called Gaspee Point, below Pawtuxet, and the Hannah escaped, arriving safely at Providence about sunset. The situation of the enemy was soon proclaimed by beat of drum, calling those who desired to go and destroy the vessel to meet that evening at the house of James Sabin. Eight long boats, with five oars each, were provided by Mr. John Brown, and soon after ten o'clock the party embarked at the wharf directly opposite the house and proceeded with muffled oars, but undisguised, upon their daring enterprise. Captain Abraham Whipple, afterwards Commodore, who three years later fired, in Narragansett Bay, the first American broadside ever discharged at any portion of his Majesty's Navy, commanded the expedition. It was long past midnight when the party approached the vessel, where they were joined by another boat from Bristol. Twice the hail of the sentinel was disregarded, when Duddingston himself leaping on the gunwale, hailed but received no answer. A second time he hailed, and was answered, in terms energetic and profane, by Whipple, who at the same time ordered his men to spring to their oars. Shots were then fired from the vessel and returned by the boats. While Whipple was replying, a musket ball, fired by Joseph Bucklin, wounded the lieutenant in the groin, and, as he fell, the attacking party boarded the schooner at the bow, and, after a brief struggle, drove the crew below and became masters of the deck. The men surrendered, were bound, and put on shore. Duddingston was severely wounded in the arm and body. He was attended by Dr. John Mawney, then a student of medicine, who accompanied the expedition as surgeon. This was the first British blood shed in the war of independence.

"It was near daylight when the lieutenant's wounds, being dressed, he was landed at Pawtuxet, and the captives, having set fire to the vessel, returned to Providence. In the flames of the burning Gaspee, were consumed that night the last hope or wish of pardon."—Arnold, pp. 312, 313.

Efforts were made, by the offer of large rewards amounting to several hundred pounds, to discover and punish the ringleaders in this bold enterprise, which the Rhode Islanders compare with the Boston tea party. But although the

parties were well known as among the most respectable citizens of the Colony, no direct testimony against them could be obtained, except that of a mulatto slave named Aaron Briggs, "who was engaged in the expedition, and afterwards escaped from his master and went on board the Beaver." He came near exposing the whole party, "most of whom were among the leading men in Providence, and some from Bristol." But it was shown to the Court of Inquiry that his testimony was given under compulsion, to Captain Linzee, of the Beaver, and was therefore thrown out. So the parties engaged all escaped even a trial, although some of the younger among them had boasted of their achievements.

In January, 1773, Governor Wanton exhibited to the court his instructions to arrest the parties engaged in the destruction of the Gaspee, and send them to England for trial. The people of Rhode Island determined to resist its enforcement. Chief Justice Hopkins consulted the Assembly as to the course he should pursue, and was advised to use his own discretion when the case arose. "'Then, for the purpose of transportation for trial, I will neither apprehend any person by my own order nor suffer any executive officers in the Colony to do it,' was the prompt reply," says Arnold, "of this fearless champion and earliest advocate of Colonial freedom." The failure to identify any of the parties engaged in the destruction of the Gaspee fortunately prevented a collision between the Colonial and British authorities at this time.

In May, the Assembly unanimously adopted the plan of Virginia for forming Committees of Correspondence, which were "to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all such acts and resolutions of the British Parliament, and measures of the Ministry, as may relate to or affect the British Colonies in America; and to maintain a correspondence and communication with the other Colonies respecting these important considerations." Warlike precautions were also taken at this time. The platforms for the battery at Fort George were repaired, and new carriages were made for the guns formerly used on the Colony war sloop.

In January, 1774, the people of Newport and the other towns in Rhode Island, following the example of Philadelphia, "Resolved, That we will have nothing to do with the East India Company's irksome tea, nor any other subject to the like duty," and, further, that they would stand with the other Colonies in vindicating the rights of America against the power of taxation claimed by Great Britain.

May 17, 1774, "The people of Providence, assembled in town meeting, formally proposed the last remaining act necessary to a union of the Colonies—the Continental Congress. The idea had become familiar to the popular mind;

it had been proposed in the addresses of public speakers and suggested by Committees of Correspondence; but the formal proposition had never yet been made by any responsible and authorized body. The movement had not received the sanction of any legally constituted authority until made at this meeting of the freemen of Providence."—Arnold, vol. 2, p. 334.

The author further says that "Rhode Island, as she had been the first, through the means of town meetings, to propose a Continental Congress, was also the earliest to appoint delegates to attend it. It is significant of the unanimity of the people on this matter, that the two delegates selected, were the ex-Governors whose rival parties had for so many years divided the Councils of the Colony."

"At a town meeting held at Providence, Rhode Island, on the 17th day of May, A.D. 1774, called by warrant,

"Samuel Nightengale, Moderator,

"Resolved, That this town will heartily join with the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and the other Colonies, in such measures as shall be generally agreed on by the Colonies for the protecting and securing their invaluable, natural rights and privileges, and transmitting the same to the latest posterity.

"That the deputies of this town be requested to use their influence at the approaching session of the General Assembly of this Colony for promoting a Congress as soon as may be, of the representatives of the General Assemblies of the several Colonies and Provinces of North America, for establishing the firmest union, and adopting such measures as to them shall appear the most effectual to answer that important purpose, and to agree upon proper methods for executing the same.

"That the Committee of Correspondence of this town be desired to assure the town of Boston that we do consider ourselves greatly interested in the present alarming conduct of the British Parliament towards them, and view the whole English-American Colonies equally concerned in the event; and that we will, with the utmost firmness, act accordingly whenever any plan shall be agreed on. In the mean time we are of opinion that an universal stoppage of all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, Africa, and the West Indies, until such time as the port of Boston shall be reinstated in its former privileges, etc., will be the best expedient in the case; and that a proper time should be generally agreed on for the same universally to take place.

"Whereas, The inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind, the deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavors to obtain an act of the General Assembly prohibiting the im-

portation of negro slaves in this Colony; and that all negroes born in the Colony should be free at attaining to a certain age.

"Voted, That James Angell, Esq., be added to the Committee of Correspondence of this town, and that he sign their letters as clerk."

Rhode Island Resolutions.

"At the General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America, begun and holden by adjournment, at Newport, within and for the said Colony, on the second Monday in June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and in the fourteenth year of the reign of his most sacred Majesty King George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, and so forth.

"This Assembly, taking into their most serious consideration several acts of the British Parliament for levying taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in America without their consent; and particularly an act lately passed for the blocking up the port of Boston, which act, even upon the supposition that the people of Boston had justly deserved punishment, is scarcely to be paralleled in history for the severity of the vengeance executed upon them; and also considering to what a deplorable state this and all the other Colonies are reduced when, by an act of Parliament, in which the subjects of America have not a single voice, and without being heard, they may be divested of property and deprived of liberty;—do, upon mature deliberation,

"Resolve, 1st, That it is the opinion of this Assembly that a firm and inviolable union of all the Colonies in counsels and measures is absolutely necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and that for that purpose a convention of representatives from all the Colonies ought to be holden in some suitable place as soon as may be, in order to consult upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and to establish the rights and liberties of the Colony upon a just and solid foundation.

"2d, That the honorable Stephen Hopkins. and the Honorable Samuel Ward, Esqrs., be and they are hereby appointed by this assembly to represent the people of this Colony in a General Congress of Representatives from the other Colonies at such time and place as shall be agreed upon by the major part of the committees appointed or to be appointed by the Colonies in general.

"3d, That they consult and advise, with the representatives of the other Colonies who shall meet in such Congress, upon a loyal and dutiful petition and remonstrance to be presented

to his Majesty, as the united voice of his faithful subjects in America, setting forth the grievances they labor under, and praying his gracious interposition for their relief.

"And that, in case a major part of the representatives of all the Colonies shall agree upon such petition and remonstrance, they be empowered to sign the same in behalf of this Colony.

"4th, That they also consult upon all such reasonable and lawful measures as may be expedient for the Colonies in a united manner to pursue, in order to procure a redress of their grievances, and to ascertain and establish their rights and liberties.

"5th, That they also endeavor to procure a regular annual convention of representatives from all the Colonies to consider of proper means for the preservation of the rights and liberties of all the Colonies.

"6th, That the speaker of the lower House transmit, as soon as may be, copies of these resolutions to the present or late speakers of the respective Houses of Representatives of all the British Colonies upon the continent.

"HENRY WARD, *Secretary.*"

Providence (Rhode Island) Town Meeting.

"At a town meeting held at Providence, Rhode Island, convened by warrant on the 12th day of August, 1774,

"Benjamin Man, Esq., Moderator,

"Instructions to the deputies of this town in General Assembly:

"GENTLEMEN: The suffering and distresses of the people of the town of Boston, occasioned by a relentless execution of that cruel edict for blocking up the port, awakens our attention and excites our compassion. Their cause is our cause; and unless aid and succour be afforded them, they may be discouraged into a hurtful submission, and Ministerial vengeance may next be directed against this Colony, and in the end alight upon all. You are therefore requested to use your endeavors, at the next session of the General Assembly, to procure a grant, to be made from this Colony, of such sum of money as they may think fit towards relieving and mitigating the difficulties and distresses which that town must experience from the operation of that most unrighteous inhibition, the hostile manner of carrying the same into force, and a general arrest of their liberties.

"Permit us to observe that in doing this it will be evidenced that as a community we would do unto others as we would that they should do unto us in a like circumstance; and that it will be a greater testimony of unanimity in the general concerns of America in this day of struggle and danger, than private contributions, and far more equal."

"At a town meeting held at Providence, Rhode Island, on

the 21st day of November, 1774, A.M., called by warrant, to order a town tax, etc.,

"Nicholas Brown, Esq., Moderator.

"Voted, That the Committee of Correspondence for this town be hereby empowered to receive of the town treasury the sum of one hundred and twenty five pounds lawful money, and to transmit the same to the committee in the town of Boston for receiving donations for the distressed inhabitants of the town of Boston and Charlestown; and the treasurer is hereby ordered to pay said sum out of the first money he shall receive of the tax now ordered."

Extract from a letter of Captain Wallace to Vice-admiral Graves, dated on board his Majesty's ship *Rose*, at Newport, Rhode Island, 12th of December, 1774:

"Yesterday I arrived in this port with his Majesty's ship under my command, from New London, on a cruise of which I had the honor to acquaint you the 8th instant. Since my absence from this place, I find the inhabitants (they say here of Providence) have seized upon the King's cannon that was upon Fort Island, consisting of six 24-pounders, eighteen 18-pounders, fourteen 6-pounders, and six 4-pounders (the latter they say formerly belonged to a Province sloop they had here), and conveyed them to Providence.

"A procedure so extraordinary caused me to wait upon the Governor, to inquire of him, for your information, why such a step had been taken. He very frankly told me they had done it to prevent their falling into the hands of the King, or any of his servants, and that they meant to make use of them to defend themselves against any power that shall offer to molest them. I then mentioned if, in the course of carrying on the King's service here, I should ask assistance, whether I might expect any from him or any others in the government. He answered, as to himself, he had no power, and, in respect to any other part of the government, I should meet with nothing but opposition and difficulty. So much from Governor Wanton. Then I endeavored to get the best information of what they were at from other quarters, and inclosed I send it to you; among some of their votes you will find they intend to procure powder and ball and military stores of all kinds wherever they can get them."

Extract of a letter to a gentleman in New York, dated Newport, R. I., December 14, 1774:

"The people here have, I think, openly declared themselves against government, and in such manner as surely must be pronounced rebellion. Is it possible that a people without arms, ammunition, money, or navy should dare brave a nation dreaded and respected by all the powers on earth? What black ingratitude to the parent-state who has nourished, protected, and supported them in their infancy! What can these things indicate but a civil war? Horrid re-

flection! and such as freezes the blood of every human heart.

"There has been a most extraordinary movement here a few days ago. The public authority of the Colony have dismantled the King's fort and moved all the cannon and stores to Providence, in order, as it is said, to assist the Bostonians against the King's troops.

"Underneath is a list of the cannon:

"Six 24-pounders, eighteen 18-pounders given by the late King to the fort; fourteen 6-pounders, six 4-pounders belonging to the Colony.

"God send us better times!

"Yours, etc."

Committee of Newport, R. I., to the Philadelphia Committee:

"NEWPORT, January 5, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN: Being informed that it is reported at New York, and at other parts of the continent, that the inhabitants of this town are fitting out vessels and determined to carry on their trade in violation of the Continental Association, and as the propagators of this infamous falsehood can have no other intention than to weaken the bonds of union between the Colonies, we think it our duty to acquaint you that several vessels designed for the coast of Africa, which could not be got ready by the 1st of December, have been actually laid up; that several parcels of sheep purchased for exportation have been stopped; and that, so far as we can learn, the Association hath been strictly adhered to by the merchants in this Colony, who declare their intention to abide by it. Indeed, the absolute necessity of an union in common measures for the common safety is so obvious that we can assure you that the trade of Rhode Island will be carried on with a punctual regard to the Association.

"We pray an early communication of any intelligence you may receive of importance to the Colonies, and are, with great esteem, gentlemen, your most humble servants."

The Committee of Correspondence to the Committee of Correspondence for Philadelphia:

"PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 4, 1775.

"On Thursday last, the 2d instant, about 12 o'clock, at noon, the town crier gave the following notice through the town: 'At 5 o'clock this afternoon, a quantity of India tea will be burnt in the market-place. All true friends of their country, lovers of freedom, and haters of shackles and handcuffs are hereby invited to testify their good disposition by bringing in and casting into the fire a needless herb, which for a long time hath been highly detrimental to our liberty, interest, and health.' About five o'clock in the afternoon a great number of inhabitants assembled at the place, when

there was brought in about three hundred pound weight of tea by the firm contenders for the true interests of America.

"A large fire was kindled, and the tea cast into it. A tar barrel, Lord North's speech, Rivingston's and Mill's, and Hick's newspapers, and divers other ingredients were also added. There appeared great cheerfulness in committing to destruction so pernicious an article, many worthy women, from a conviction of the evil tendency of continuing the habit of tea-drinking, made free-will offerings of their respective stocks of the hurtful trash. On this occasion the bells were tolled, but it is referred to the learned whether tolling or ringing would have been most proper.

"Whilst the tea was burning, a spirited Son of Liberty went along the streets with his brush and lampblack, and obliterated or unpainted the word 'tea' on the shop signs."

"PROVIDENCE, April 25, 1775.

"To the Speaker of the House of Commons of Connecticut:

"SIR: I am directed by the lower House of Assembly to inform you that William Bradford, Esq., and Mr. Nathaniel Greene, two of the members of this House, are appointed 'to wait upon the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, to consult upon measures for the common defence of the four New England Colonies, and to make report to the next session of Assembly (which will be next week at Providence) at our general election.'

"The Assembly this day have passed an act to raise fifteen hundred effective men for the service of this Colony and the general cause. Great firmness and resolution for the defence of the common rights of this country most certainly prevail in this Colony; and greater unanimity was scarce ever found than was manifested in the lower House, on the great questions which came before them."

"GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND, }
PROVIDENCE, R. I., May 20, 1775. }

"Whereas, The Ministry and Parliament of Great Britain, sacrificing the glory and happiness of their sovereign, and the good of Britain and the Colonies to their own ambitious and lucrative views, have entered into many arbitrary, illegal resolutions for depriving his Majesty's subjects in America of every security for the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; and have sent and are still sending troops and ships of war into their Colonies to enforce their tyrannical mandates, and have actually begun to shed the blood of the innocent people of these Colonies;—in consequence whereof, this Assembly, at the session held on the 22d of April last, passed an act for raising fifteen hundred men, as an army of observation, and to assist any of our sister Colonies;

“And whereas, The Honorable Joseph Wanton, Esq., the Governor of this Colony, did enter a protest against the said act, conceived in such terms as highly to reflect upon the General Assembly, and upon the united opposition of all America to the aforesaid tyrannical measure;

“And whereas, The said Joseph Wanton, Esq., hath neglected to issue a proclamation for the due observance of the Thursday, the 11th of May instant, as a day of fasting and prayer, agreeable to an act passed at the said session;

“And whereas, The said Joseph Wanton, Esq., hath been elected to the office of Governor of this Colony for the present year, and been duly notified by this Assembly, notwithstanding which he hath not attended at this General Assembly and taken the oath required by law;

“And whereas, The said Joseph Wanton, Esq., hath positively refused to sign the commissions for the officers appointed to command the troops so ordered to be raised: by all which he hath manifested his intention to defeat the good people of these Colonies in their present glorious struggle to transmit, inviolate to posterity, those sacred rights they have received from their ancestors;—

“Be it therefore enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That the Deputy-governor and associates be and they are hereby forbid to administer the oath of office to the said Joseph Wanton, Esq., unless in free and open General Assembly, according to the unvaried practice of this Colony, and with the assent of such Assembly; that until the said Joseph Wanton, Esq., shall have taken the oath of office as aforesaid, it shall not be lawful for him to act as governor of this Colony in any case whatsoever; and that every act done by him in the precedent capacity of Governor shall be null and void in itself, and shall not operate as a warrant or discharge to any person acting under his order or by his authority.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That Henry Ward, Esq., Secretary of the Colony, be and he is hereby directed, and is fully authorized and empowered, to sign the commissions for the officers, civil and military, chosen by this Assembly, as well those given in the service aforesaid as others, he receiving therefor out of the general treasury two shillings and eightpence for each commission. And that such commissions so signed, with the Colony seal affixed, shall be as full and effectual warrants to every and all such officers so chosen for the faithful discharge of his and their duty, as if the same were signed by a governor of this Colony duly elected and engaged according to law; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That his Honour the Deputy-governor be requested and fully

authorized and empowered to call the General Assembly together upon any emergency, to meet at such time and place as he shall think most fit for the interest of the Colony."

"RHODE ISLAND ASSEMBLY, }
August, 1775

"Whereas, Notwithstanding the humble and dutiful petition of the last Congress to the King, and other wise and pacific measures taken for obtaining a happy reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, the Ministry, lost to every sense of justice, liberty, and humanity, continue to send troops and ships of war into America, which destroy our trade, plunder and burn our towns, and murder the people of these Colonies,—

"It is therefore Voted and Resolved, That this Colony most ardently desire to see the former friendship, harmony, and intercourse between Great Britain and these Colonies restored, and a happy, lasting connection established between both countries, upon terms of just and equal liberty; and will concur with the other Colonies in all proper measures for obtaining those desirable blessings. And as every principle, divine and human, require us to obey that great and fundamental law of nature,—self-preservation,—until peace shall be restored upon constitutional principles, this Colony will most heartily exert the whole power of government for carrying on this just and necessary war, and bringing the same to a happy issue. And amongst other measures for obtaining this most desirable purpose, this Assembly is persuaded that the building and equipping an American fleet, as soon as possible, would greatly and essentially conduce to the preservation of the lives, liberty, and property of the good people of these Colonies; and therefore instruct their delegates to use their whole influence, at the ensuing Congress, for building, at the continental expense, a fleet of sufficient force for the protection of these Colonies, and for employing them in such manner and places as will most effectually annoy our enemies and contribute to the common defence of these Colonies. And they are also instructed to use their influence for carrying on the war in the most vigorous manner, until peace, liberty, and safety be restored and secured to these Colonies upon an equitable and permanent basis."

Rhode Island promptly responded to the proposition made by Massachusetts, that the New England Colonies should raise 30,000 men. Some four thousand men were soon under arms; and on the 20th April, when news of the British attack on Lexington and Concord reached Providence, one thousand men were sent to the aid of the sister-Colony. The order for the march, however, was countermanded; the immediate necessity for their presence having ceased.

May 3d, the Assembly adopted the bold measure of sus-

pending the functions of the Governor, Joseph Wanton. "He had protested against the act for raising the army of observation; he had neglected to issue his proclamation for the fast-day appointed by the Assembly; he had failed to be present to take the oath of office at this session; and he now refused to sign the commission for officers of the new army; 'by all which he hath manifested his intentions to defeat the good people of these Colonies in their present glorious struggle to transmit, inviolate to posterity, those sacred rights they have received from their ancestors.' The magistrates were therefore forbidden to administer to him the official oath unless in open Assembly, 'according to the unvaried practice' and with the consent of the Assembly; and until this oath was thus taken he was disqualified from acting as governor. Henry Ward, Secretary, was empowered to sign all commissions, civil or military, and the Deputy-governor was authorized to convene the Assembly at his discretion."

June 15th, a small vessel which had been detained or seized by the British naval commander Captain Wallace, was recaptured by an armed sloop commanded by Captain Whipple, in the Colony's service, "after a sharp firing on both sides." "Two armed vessels were at once ordered to be equipped for the defence of the Colony: the largest to carry ten 4-pounders, and fourteen swivel guns, with eighty men; the smaller to carry thirty men. They were called the Washington and the Katy. Both were placed under the command of Abraham Whipple, the hero of the Gaspee, with the rank of Commodore. Such was the commencement of the American Navy."—Arnold, vol. 2, p. 351.

June 17th, "The Rose frigate, Swan sloop of war, and a tender came up the river in pursuit of prizes, and, while absent from Newport, five vessels which they had previously taken were boarded and carried off by the people of that town."—Page 352.

In August two "row-galleys," or gun-boats, each to carry sixty men, were added to the naval force of Rhode Island; and at the same session of the Assembly, the delegates in Congress were instructed "to use their whole influence for building, at the continental expense, a fleet of sufficient force for the protection of these Colonies."

In November, Governor Wanton, who had been suspended in May, was deposed and the office declared vacant. The Deputy governor, Nicholas Cooke, succeeded him.

It was contended by Arnold that the Whigs of Rhode Island aimed at independence from the year 1768 forward. Her Constitution or Charter had always been republican in character; all her officers were elected by the people or appointed by the Provincial Government; and the people had thus been trained, for generations, to the exercise of self-

government. On the 4th May, 1776, the Assembly passed the following act, which is practically a declaration of independence of Great Britain:

“An Act Repealing ‘An Act for the more Effectually Securing to his Majesty the Allegiance of his Subjects, in this his Colony and Dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,’ and Altering the Forms of Commissions of all Writs and Processes in the Courts, and of the Oaths prescribed by law.

“Whereas in all states existing by compact, protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the latter being only due in consequence of the former; and whereas, George the Third King of Great Britain, forgetting his dignity, regardless of the compact most solemnly entered into, ratified, and confirmed to the inhabitants of this Colony by his illustrious ancestors, and, till of late, fully recognized by him; and, entirely departing from the duty and character of a good King, instead of protecting, is endeavoring to destroy the good people of this Colony, and of all the united Colonies, by sending fleets and armies to America to confiscate our property and spread fire, sword, and desolation throughout our country in order to compel us to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny; whereby we are obliged by necessity, and it becomes our highest duty, to use every means with which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights and privileges, to oppose that power which is exerted only for our destruction.

“Be it therefore enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That an act entitled ‘An Act for the more Effectually Securing to his Majesty the Allegiance of his Subjects in this his Colony and Dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations’ be and the same is hereby repealed.

“And it is further enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, That in all commissions for officers, civil and military, and in all writs and processes in law, whether original, judicial, or executory, civil or criminal, wherever the name and authority of the said King is made use of, the same shall be omitted, and in the room thereof the name and authority of the Governor and Company of this Colony shall be substituted, in the following words, to wit: ‘The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations;’ that all such commissions, writs, and processes shall be otherwise of the same form and tenor as they heretofore were; that the courts of law be no longer entitled or considered as the King’s courts; and that no instrument of writing, of any nature or kind, whether public or private, shall, in the date thereof, mention the year of the said King’s reign: provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this act contained shall render

void, or vitiate, any commission, writ, process, or instrument heretofore made or executed, on account of the name and authority of the said King being therein inserted."

The records of the Assembly had always closed, says Arnold, with the loyal motto, "God save the King!" but at this session the closing words were, "God save the United Colonies!"

General Greene, the distinguished patriot-soldier of Rhode Island, as early as October, 1775, expressed a strong conviction that independence was inevitable. And in no one Colony was this sentiment more prevalent in advance of the event.

NEW YORK.

The merchants of New York were among the foremost and most determined in opposition to the Stamp Act; but they for a long while resisted the enforcement of the non-importation agreements which were entered into by the other Colonies; and aided by the Crown officers, they for a while had sufficient influence in the Colony to prevent their adoption. A letter from Lieutenant-governor Colden to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated New York, July 7, 1770, says:

"As there still remains a restless faction who, from popular arguments, rumors, and invectives, are endeavoring to excite riots and opposition among the lower class of people, a number of gentlemen went round the town to take the sentiments of individuals. I am told that 1180, among which are the principal inhabitants, declared for importation, about 300 were neutral or unwilling to declare their sentiments, and (only) a few of any distinction declared in opposition to it. I am informed likewise that the merchants of this place resolved to acquaint the merchants of Boston and Philadelphia with their inclinations to import."—O'Callaghan's *N. Y. Historical Collection*.

The sequel will show that the undistinguished class, whose opinions were not thought worth inquiring into, when the issue was made carried the day. They overcame the merchants and the government and compelled the adoption of the non-importation agreement. Within a week this obscure element, the common people, led by what is styled an "inconsiderable, noisy, blustering faction, whose whole aim is to keep the country in confusion, in order to answer their purposes and keep up a popularity which, by vile means, they have obtained among the lower class of mechanics and inhabitants,"—this faction had sufficient influence to get up a public meeting at the City Hall, at which Isaac Sears "publicly declared if any merchant or number of merchants presumed to break through the non-importation agreement till the several Provinces had agreed to do the same, he would lose his life in the attempt or the goods imported

should be burnt as soon as landed; and strenuously advised that every measure in the power of that faction should be attempted, to frustrate the resolutions taken or to be taken by the gentlemen and merchants for bringing about an importation."

Governor Tryon, who had succeeded Governor Moore in 1769, writes to Earl Dartmouth under date of November 3, 1773, that "It is with real regret I acquaint your lordship of the ferment the minds of many of his Majesty's subjects have been in since the late arrival here of some of the country ships in the London trade, which brought intelligence of the East India Company's intention to ship tea on their own account to America; and the refusal of the masters of those vessels to take it on board." With this letter Tryon inclosed newspapers containing "productions calculated to sow sedition."

Tryon again writes, under date, New York, 1st Dec., 1773, as follows:

"Since information has been received that the teas shipped by the East India Company are subject to the importation duty in America, the commissioners appointed for sending those teas, finding it would be impossible to carry into execution the powers granted them, have this day presented a memorial requesting government would take the teas under its protection. The memorial and minute of Council herewith transmitted will explain both the extent of the request and the measure of protection advised to be granted. I have accordingly applied to Captain Ascough, of his Majesty's sloop the *Swan*, to take the vessel, when arrived, under his protection until the tea could be landed, which, I am informed, will be effected without obstruction, though the general voice is no sales, no consumption while the American duty remains unrepealed by Parliament.

"The publications inclosed are by no means to be thought the sense of the inhabitants further than the general reluctance to take any articles from Great Britain subject to duties in America."

So this reluctance was general, and not confined to a small faction.

January 3, 1774, Tryon writes to Earl Dartmouth, that, "Until the arrival of the account of the tea being destroyed at Boston, I had conceived very sanguine hopes that temperate measures might have been manifested in the conduct of the body of the people of this Province on the arrival of the tea," etc. But he concludes: "From the general appearance of the united opposition to the principle of the monopoly and the importation duty in America, I can form no other opinion than that the landing, storing, and safe keeping of the tea when stored, could be accomplished, but only under the protection of the point of the bayonet and

muzzle of the cannon; and even then I do not see how the consumption could be effected."

Governor Tryon, having gone to England on leave of absence on account of impaired health, the Lieutenant-governor, Colden, again resumed authority. Under date of May 4, 1774, he wrote:

"Captain Lockyer, with the so-long-locked-for tea from the India Company, arrived at Sandy Hook on the 19th of last month. The ship came no farther up, and, a few days after, sailed from thence again for London, with the tea on board. Neither the captain nor any other made the least application to me about the ship or her cargo. The account of this affair published in the inclosed newspaper is as particular and full as any that I could procure.

"In the same paper your lordship will find an account of some more violent proceedings against a parcel of tea imported by Captain Chambers of the ship London; who arrived here while Captain Lockwood was in this place. As no application was made to me by Captain Chambers or any other before or since this riotous event, I cannot give your lordship a better account of it than is contained in the printed paper. It happened early in the evening, and, though a pretty large number of spectators were assembled, the quarter where I reside and the greater part of the town was perfectly quiet."

In a subsequent letter Colden says that "The destruction of Captain Chambers' tea was so unexpected and sudden that no measures could be previously thought of to prevent it.

"A few days after Governor Tryon went from hence, a small sloop loaded with Dutch tea, duck, etc., was seized by an officer of the Custom-house. She was taken in this port at noonday and secured without any tumult on the occasion."

July 6, 1774, Colden writes to Dartmouth that a committee of fifty-one persons had been appointed to correspond with similar committees in other Colonies. He admits his inability to suppress the movement, and attempts to console himself and his lordship with the statement that some of the better sort of gentlemen had joined in the movement, in order to prevent excesses.

The following are extracts from the proceedings of this committee:

"NEW YORK COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, }
"NEW YORK, Monday, May 16, 1774. }

"The merchants and other inhabitants of the city of New York assembled at the Exchange in said city and nominated the following gentlemen to form a committee to correspond with our sister-Colonies upon all matters of moment, and that fifteen be a board, all being duly summoned:

John Alsop,
 Peter V. B. Livingston,
 David Johnston,
 Alex. McDougall,
 Isaac Low,
 James Duane,
 Elias Desbrosses,
 John Delaney,
 John Broome,
 Joseph Hallett,
 James Jauncey,
 Abraham Walton,
 Henry Remson,
 Peter T. Curtenius,
 Abraham P. Lott,
 Abraham Duryee,
 Richard Sharpe,
 William Bayard,
 Philip Livingston,
 Charles McEvers,
 Capt. Th. Randall,
 Leonard Lispenard,
 Edward Laight,
 William Walton,
 Miles Sherbrook,

John Jay,
 Charles Shaw,
 Gabriel H. Ludlow,
 Gerandus Duyckinck,
 Hamilton Young,
 Peter Goelet,
 David Van Horne,
 Joseph Bull,
 Thomas Marston,
 Theophilus Bache,
 Isaac Sears,
 Charles Nicholl,
 John Moore,
 Jac. Van Zandt,
 Thomas Pearsall,
 Richard Yates,
 John Thurman,
 Benjamin Booth,
 Alexander Wallace,
 Nicholas Hoffman,
 Peter Van Schaach,
 George Brown,
 Abraham Brosher,
 Gerard W. Beekman,
 William McAdam.

On Tuesday the following notice was published in handbills:

"To the public: An advertisement having appeared at the Coffee-house, in consequence of the late extraordinary and very alarming advices received from England, inviting the merchants to meet at the house of Mr. Samuel Francis, on Monday evening, May 16th, in order to consult on measures proper to be pursued on the present critical and important occasion:

"A very respectable and large number of the merchants and other inhabitants did accordingly appear at the time and place appointed, and then and there nominated for the approbation of the public a committee of fifty persons, of which fifteen to be a sufficient number to do business.

"That therefore no formality may be wanting to constitute a committee duly chosen, the inhabitants of this city and county are requested to attend at the Coffee-house on Thursday, the 19th instant, at 1 o'clock, to approve of the committee nominated as aforesaid, or to appoint such other persons as in their discretion and wisdom may seem meet."

"NEW YORK, Tuesday, May 17, 1774.

"In consequence of the foregoing advertisement, a great concourse of the inhabitants met at the Coffee house on Thursday, May 19th, to confirm or alter the nomination of a

committee to correspond with our sister Colonies when Mr. Isaac Low addressed his fellow-citizens in the following words:

“GENTLEMEN: You have been duly apprised, both by handbills and advertisements in this day's papers, of the intention of your present meeting.

“I hope, gentlemen, you will manifest by your conduct that you are actuated by the dictates of calm reason only in the choice of the committee I am to propose for your approbation.

“It is but charitable to suppose we all mean the same thing, and that the only difference among us is, or at least ought to be, the mode of effecting it,—I mean the preservation of our just rights and liberties. Let us then call down wisdom to our aid, and endeavor to walk in her hallowed paths.

“Zeal in a good cause is most laudable; but when it transports beyond the bounds of reason, it often leaves room for bitter reflection.

“We out, therefore, gentlemen, to banish from our hearts all little party distinctions, feuds, and animosities, for to our unanimity and virtue we must at last resort for safety; and that man will approve himself the best friend to his country whose highest emulation is to inculcate those principles, both by precept and example.”

The nomination of the fifty gentlemen made at the Exchange on the 16th instant was then submitted by Mr. Low and confirmed by the meeting, and Mr. Francis Lewis was added to the number by unanimous consent.

“NEW YORK, Monday, May 23, 1774.

“The committee appointed to correspond with our sister Colonies upon all matters of moment met at the Coffee-house, pursuant to notice for that purpose given.

“The committee proceeded to choose Mr. Isaac Low to be their chairman, and Mr. John Alsop their deputy chairman.

“The committee received a letter from the body of mechanics, signed Jonathan Blake, their chairman, informing them of their concurrence with the other inhabitants of this city in their nomination.

“Ordered, That Mr. Duane, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Van Schaack be a committee to draw up a set of rules for the regulation of the committee, and present the same at the next meeting.

“Ordered, That the first five members on the list, who shall be in town, be a committee to open all letters directed to the committee, in the absence of the chairman and deputy chairman.

“Letters from the Committee of Correspondence of Boston, with the vote of the town of Boston, of the 13th instant, and a letter from the committee of Philadelphia were read.

“Ordered, That Mr. McDougall, Mr. Low, Mr. Duane, and

Mr. Jay be a committee to prepare and report a draft of an answer to the Boston committee at eight o'clock P.M.; to which hour the grand committee were then adjointed.

“NEW YORK, May 23, 1774.

“The committee met at the Coffee-house at 8 o'clock in the evening, pursuant to adjournment.

“The committee appointed this morning to prepare a draft of a letter, in answer to those received from Boston, presented a draft to the committee, which was unanimously approved of and ordered to be signed by the chairman and transmitted to the Committee of Correspondence at Boston, in words following:

“NEW YORK, May 23, 1774.

“GENTLEMEN: The alarming measures of the British Parliament relative to your ancient and respected town, which has so long been the seat of freedom, fill the inhabitants of this city with inexpressible concern. As a sister-Colony suffering in defence of the rights of America, we consider your injuries as a common cause, to the redress of which it is equally our duty and our interest to contribute. But what ought to be done in a situation so truly critical while it employs the anxious thoughts of every generous mind, is very hard to be determined.

“Our citizens have thought it necessary to appoint a large committee consisting of fifty-one persons to correspond with our sister Colonies on this and every other matter of public moment, and at ten o'clock this forenoon we were first assembled.

“Your letter inclosing the vote of the town of Boston, and the letter of your Committee of Correspondence, were immediately taken into consideration.

“While we think you justly entitled to the thanks of your sister-Colonies for asking their advice on a case of such extensive consequences, we lament our inability to relieve your anxiety by a decisive opinion. The cause is general and concerns a whole continent, who are equally interested with you and us; and we foresee that no remedy can be of avail unless it proceeds from the joint act and approbation of all,—from a virtuous and spirited union,—which may be expected; while the feeble efforts of a few will only be attended with mischief and disappointment to themselves and triumph to the adversaries of our liberty.

“Upon these reasons we conclude that a Congress of Deputies from the Colonies in general is of the utmost moment; that it ought to be assembled without delay, and some unanimous resolution formed on this fatal emergency, not only respecting your deplorable circumstances, but for the security of our common rights. Such being our sentiments,

it must be premature to pronounce any judgment on the expedient which you have suggested.

“We beg, however, that you will do us the justice to believe that we shall continue to act with a firm and becoming regard to American freedom, and to co-operate with our sister-Colonies in every measure which shall be thought salutary and conducive to the public good.

“We have nothing to add, but that we sincerely condole with you in your unexampled distress, and to request your speedy opinion of the proposed Congress that, if it should meet with your approbation, we may exert our utmost endeavors to carry it into execution.

“We are, etc.”

“Ordered, That the chairman send a copy of this letter to the committee at Boston and to the Committee of Correspondence at Philadelphia, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of their letter to Boston, approving the sentiments contained in it.

“The committee adjourned to the Exchange, to meet on the 30 of May inst. at six o'clock in the evening.”

Copy of the letter sent by the New York committee to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston:

“NEW YORK, June 7, 1774.

“GENTLEMEN: We have received your favor of the 30th May, and you may rest assured we shall eagerly embrace all proper opportunities of contributing our mite towards bringing to a favorable issue the unhappy disputes which at present subsist between the parent-state and her Colonies.

“You say that ‘a speedy, united, and vigorous effort is certainly all that can be depended upon to yield us any effectual relief, and that this effort is on all hands acknowledged to be the suspension of trade so wisely defined by you.’

“To the first we entirely concur with you in sentiments; but in the last we apprehend you have made a mistake, for, on revising our letter to you, so far from finding a word mentioned of a ‘suspension of trade,’ the idea is not even conceived.

“That and every other resolution we have thought it most prudent to leave for the discussion of the proposed general Congress.

“Adhering therefore to that measure as most conducive to promote the grand system of politics we have in view, we have the pleasure to acquaint you that we shall be ready on our part to meet at any time and place that you shall think fit to appoint, either of deputies from the general Assemblies, or such other deputies as shall be chosen, not only to speak the sentiments, but also to pledge themselves for the conduct of the people of the respective Colonies they represent,

"We can undertake to assure you, in behalf of the people of this Colony, that they will readily agree to any measure that shall be adopted by the general Congress. It will be necessary that you give a sufficient time for the deputies of the Colonies as far southward as the Carolinas to assemble, and acquaint them as soon as possible with the proposed measures of Congress. Your letters to the southward of us we will forward with great pleasure.

"You may have seen all the names of our committee in the public prints; and as we never heard the names of those which constitute your committee, we request the favor of you to give us that satisfaction in your next. We beg that your letters for the future may be sealed and directed to our chairman.

"We are, gentlemen, your friends and most humble servants. By order of the committee,

"I. Low, *Chairman.*"

South Haven (New York) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of South Haven, in the county of Suffolk and Colony of New York, the 13th of June, 1774, Mr. William Smith moderator,

"It is voted and agreed, That the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston is unconstitutional, and has a direct tendency to enslave the inhabitants of America and put an end to all property.

"And it is also the opinion of this meeting that, if the Colonies all unite and strictly adhere to a non-importation agreement from Great Britain and the West Indies, and have no trade with them, we should have great reason to expect in a short time a repeal of that oppressive act; and for that purpose we do heartily desire that such an agreement may be entered into."

On the 17th of the same month a town meeting was held at Easthampton.

Easthampton (Suffolk Co., N. Y.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Easthampton, in the county of Suffolk, legally warned by the trustees of said town, the 17th of June, 1774,

"Eleazar Miller, Esq., moderator,

"1st, Voted, That we will, to the utmost of our abilities, assert and in a lawful manner defend the liberties and immunities of British America; that we will co-operate with our brethren in this Colony in such measures as shall from time to time appear to us the most proper and the best adapted to save us from the burthens we fear, and in a measure already feel, from the principles adopted by the British Parliament respecting the town of Boston in particular, and the British Colonies in North America in general.

"2d. Voted, That a non-importation agreement through the Colonies is the most likely means to save us from present and further troubles."

Huntington (Suffolk Co., N. Y.) Resolutions.

"At a general town meeting on the 21st day of June, 1774, the inhabitants of Huntington came into the following resolutions:

"1st. That every freeman's property is absolutely his own; and that no man has a right to take it from him without his consent, expressed either by himself or his representatives.

"2d. That therefore all taxes and duties imposed on his Majesty's subjects in the American Colonies by the authority of Parliament are wholly unconstitutional and a plain violation of the most essential rights of the British subjects.

"3d. That the act of Parliament lately passed for shutting up the port of Boston, or any other means or device under color or pretext of law to compel them or any other of his Majesty's American subjects to submit to Parliamentary taxation, are subversive of their just and constitutional liberty.

"4th. That we are of opinion that our brethren of Boston are now suffering in the common cause of British America.

"5th. That therefore it is the indispensable duty of all the Colonies upon this continent to unite in some effectual measures for the repeal of the said act for shutting up the port of Boston, and every other act of Parliament whereby they are taxed for raising a revenue.

"6th. That it is the opinion of this meeting, the most effectual means for obtaining a speedy repeal of the said acts will be to break of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the English West Indies Colonies.

"7th. And we do hereby declare ourselves ready to enter into these or such other measures as shall be agreed upon by a general Congress of all the Colonies; and we do recommend to the general Congress to take such measures as shall be most effectual to prevent such goods as are at present in America from being raised to an extravagant price.

"And lastly, We do choose and appoint Colonel Platt Conkling, John Sloss Hobart, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Wicker for a committee for this town, to act in conjunction with the committees of the other towns in the county as a general committee for the county to correspond with the committee of New York.

[Signed]

"ISRAEL WOOD, *President.*"

Orange Town (N. Y.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Orange Town and Province, of New York, on Monday the 4th day

of July, 1774, at the house of Mr. Yeast Mabie, in said town, the following resolves were agreed upon and passed, viz.:

"1st. That we are and ever wish to be true and loyal subjects of his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain.

"2d. That we are most cordially disposed to support his Majesty and defend his Crown and dignity in every Constitutional measure as far as lies in our power,

"3d. That however well disposed we are toward his Majesty, we cannot see the late acts of Parliament imposing duties upon us, and the act for shutting up the port of Boston, without declaring our abhorrence of measures so unconstitutional and big with destruction.

"5th. That it is our unanimous opinion that the stopping all exportation and importation to and from Great Britain and the West Indies would be the most effectual method to obtain a speedy repeal.

"6th. That it is our most ardent wish to see concord and harmony restored to England and her Colonies.

"7th. That the following gentlemen, to wit: Colonel Abraham Lent, John Haring, Esq., Mr. Thomas Outwater, Mr. Gardiner Jones, and Peter T. Haring, Esq., be a committee for this town to correspond with the city of New York, and to conclude and agree upon such measures as they shall judge necessary in order to obtain a repeal of said acts."

Rye (New York) Resolutions.

On the 10th of August, 1774, the freeholders and inhabitants of the township of Rye made choice of John Thomas, Jr., James Horton, Jr., Esq., Robert Bloomer, Zeno Carpenter, and Ebenezer Haviland for a committee to consult and determine, with the committees of the other towns and districts in the county of Westchester, upon the expediency of sending one or more Delegates to Congress, to be held in Philadelphia on the first day of September next.

"Resolved, 1st, That they think it their greatest happiness to live under the illustrious house of Hanover, and that they will steadfastly and uniformly bear true faith and allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, under the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights and privileges as fellow-subjects with those in England.

"2d. That we conceive it a fundamental part of the British Constitution that no man shall be taxed but by his own consent or that of his representatives in Parliament; and as we are by no means represented, we consider all acts of Parliament imposing taxes on the Colonies an undue exertion of power and subversion of one of the most valuable privileges of the English Constitution.

"3d. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the act of

Parliament for the shutting up the port of Boston and divesting some of the inhabitants of private property is a most unparalleled, rigorous, and unjust piece of cruelty and despotism.

"4th. That unanimity and firmness of measures in the Colonies are the most effectual means to secure the invaded rights and privileges of America, and to avoid the impending ruin which now threatens this once happy country.

"5th. That the most effectual mode of redressing our grievances will be by general Congress of Delegates from the different Colonies; and that we are willing to abide by such measures as they in their wisdom shall consider necessary to be adopted on that important occasion.

"By order of the Committee.

"EBENEZER HAVILAND, *Chairman.*"

Westchester (N. Y.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the borough town of Westchester, in New York, the 20th day of August, 1774,

"Resolved, 1st, That we do and will bear true allegiance to his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, and according to the British Constitution.

"2d. That we coincide in opinion with our friends in New York and every other Colony, that all acts of the British Parliament imposing taxes on the Colonies, without their consent or by their representatives, are arbitrary and oppressive, and should meet the abhorrence and destination of all good men; that they are replete with the purpose of creating animosities and dissensions between the mother-country and the Colonies, and thereby tend to destroy the harmony and mutual agreement which it is so much the interest of both to cherish and maintain.

"3d. That we esteem it our duty, and think it incumbent on all the Colonies in America, to contribute towards the relief of the poor and distressed people of Boston; and that a person of this borough be appointed to collect such charitable donations within the same as may be offered for their support."

Palatine (Tryon County, N. Y.) Resolutions.

Resolutions adopted by the inhabitants of Palatine district, Tryon county, New York, at a meeting held August 27, 1774:

"3d. That we think it our undeniable privilege to be taxed only with our own consent, given by ourselves or our representatives.

"That taxes otherwise laid and exacted are unjust and unconstitutional. That the late acts of Parliament declarative

of their right of laying internal taxes on the American Colonies are obvious encroachments on the rights and liberties of the British subjects in America.

"4th. That the act for blocking up the port of Boston is oppressive and arbitrary, injurious in its principles, and particularly oppressive to the inhabitants of Boston, whom we consider brethren suffering in the common cause.

"5th. That we will unite and join with the different districts of this county in giving whatever relief it is in our power, to the poor, distressed inhabitants of Boston; and that we will join and unite with our brethren of the rest of this Colony in anything tending to support and defend our rights and liberties."

Jamaica (N. Y.) Town Meeting.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Jamaica, in Queen's county, held in the Court-house on Tuesday the 6th December, 1774,

"Resolved, 2d. That it is our undoubted right to be taxed only by our own consent, given by ourselves or our representatives; and that all acts made by the British Parliament imposing taxes on the Colonies are unjust, unconstitutional, and a manifest infringement of our dearest and most valuable privileges.

"5th. That we heartily sympathize with our brethren of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, under their present unexampled sufferings, and that we regard the acts of Parliament under which they now groan as cruel, unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive in the highest degree, levelled not only at them in particular, but at the liberties of the other Colonies, and the British Empire in general; and that therefore we think our aforesaid brethren, as sufferers in the common cause, are entitled to the encouragement, compassion, and charitable assistance of all the friends of liberty and foes of oppression both in England and America.

"Resolved, 6, That we do most gratefully acknowledge the difficult and important services rendered to their country by the late general Congress held at Philadelphia, and that we do highly approve of the measures by them concerted for the public good of their constituents, and that we will use all prudent and constitutional endeavors to carry those measures into execution."

Ulster County (N. Y.) Meeting.

"At a meeting of a great number of the most respectable freeholders of the towns of Kingston, Hurley, Marbletown, Rochester, and New Palesy, in the town of Hurley, in Ulster county, New York, on Friday, the 6th day of January, 1775, a committee of six being chosen, viz.: Colonel Johannes

Hardenbergh, Captain John Elmendorph, Adrian Wynkoop, Matthew Contine, Johannes G. Hardenbergh, and Jacob Hasbrouck, Jr., Esqrs., of whom Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh was chosen chairman,—

“Resolved, 1st, That it is the opinion of this meeting that we most heartily approve of the Association, and acquiesce in all the other measures entered into by the late general Congress, and we will use every means in our power to render them effectual; and that it is recommended to the several towns and precincts within this county to choose committees to see the same faithfully observed and carried into execution.

“A certain pamphlet entitled “Free Thoughts on the Resolves of the Congress,” etc., under the signature of A. W. Farmer, dated November 16, 1774, being then produced and publicly read, it was,—

“Resolved, 2d, That it is replete with falsehoods artfully calculated to impose upon the illiterate and unthinking; to frustrate the resolves of the Congress, and to destroy that union so necessary for the preservation of our constitutional liberty; therefore,—

“Resolved, 3d, That the said pamphlet, in detestation and abhorrence of such infamous publications, be now burnt; and that the authors, publishers, and circulators of such performances be henceforth deemed the enemies of their country.

“Resolved, 4th, That the chairman transmit copies of the above resolves to the Committee of Correspondence, for the several towns and precincts within this county.

“Which resolves being read and unanimously approved, the above pamphlet was burnt accordingly.

“Ordered likewise, That the resolves be printed.”

Hanover (N. Y.) Committee.

At a meeting of the freeholders of the precinct of Hanover, in Ulster county, at the house of Mr. Arthur Parks, on Friday the 27th of January, 1775, a committee of the following gentlemen being chosen, viz.: Charles Clinton, Alexander Trimble, Arthur Parks, Hendrick Smith, James Latta, William Jackson, and Jacob Newkirk; Charles Clinton was chosen chairman, and the following resolves were made:

“1st. Resolved, That this meeting do unanimously approve of the association, and gratefully rely on the wise and patriotic measures of the late Continental Congress, and that we will, to the utmost of our power, use every prudent measure to render them effectual; at the same time, that we will earnestly recommend to the respective towns and precincts within this county to choose committees to act for their respective districts in conjunction with us.”

“A certain pamphlet entitled ‘Free Thoughts on the Re-

solves of the Congress' being then exhibited and publicly read, it was

"'2d, Resolved, That it contains a false but specious show of reasoning, contrived only to induce the ignorant and credulous to counteract the resolves of the Congress, by discouraging that happy union that subsists among us for the preservation of our constitutional liberty.'

"'3d, Resolved, That the said pamphlet, exemplary to all such guilty performances, be now publicly burnt, and that the authors and propagators of such performance be held in due contempt as enemies of their country.'

"It was burnt accordingly.

"Signed by order of the committee.

"CHARLES CLINTON, *Chairman.*"

The Congress at Philadelphia having recommended non-importation, the committee of fifty-one, of New York, resigned, and a new committee of sixty was appointed to execute the plan of Congress. Colden, December 7th, says that the moderate men in the committee were obliged to support the measures of Congress in order to save the city from destruction by the mob,—a pretty sure sign that the body of the people were in sympathy with that body. The Assembly held out against the ratification of the recommendations of the Continental Congress; and this fact served to delude Colden with the hope that the Province would remain firm in the support of the measures of the government; but there were other facts that he could not quite reconcile with this happy state of things. On the 1st March, 1775, he wrote to Dartmouth as follows:

"It is surprising, my lord, that, notwithstanding the firmness with which the Assembly have discountenanced the measures of the late Congress, and the approbation this part of their conduct has received from a large majority of their constituents, the non-importation association of the Congress is ever rigidly maintained in this place."

This admission of the Lieutenant-governor proves that, when he says that a "large majority of the constituents" of the Assembly approved their rejection of the measures of Congress, he refers to the wealthy class of gentlemen; while there must have been a decided majority of the whole people in favor of the Congress measures. In the same letter he mentions other facts equally inconsistent with the statement that a majority of the people were opposed to the measures of Congress. He says: "Two vessels have arrived here since the 1st of February. One of them, from Glasgow, has been obliged to depart with her cargo to Jamaica. Neither the master of the ship, nor the merchant to whom the cargo was consigned, would demand any assistance, or showed any disposition to have the goods landed. It was not therefore possible for government to interfere

with any propriety. The second ship is from London; she still lies a few miles below the harbor, and, it is said, is to carry her cargo to Halifax. Neither the master or owners of this ship or cargo have made any application to government. The success, my lord, which the violent party have had in preventing these vessels from landing their cargoes here has given them great spirits, and is a strong counterpoise to the conduct of the Assembly. Your lordship will believe me, it has chagrined me a good deal."

These are wretched excuses for permitting a mob to blockade the harbor; and it would have shown more good sense as well as candor in Colden to have acknowledged himself utterly powerless to prevent the unlawful proceeding. But in his next two letters he had to confess that only the shadow of the British government remained in New York. The people feeling outraged at the course of the Assembly, elected a very full Provincial Congress, in which every county, except three very remote and inconsiderable ones, were represented. They proceeded to ratify the measures of the Continental Congress and to take the reins of local government into their hands. Colden attempts to explain the triumph of the mob, as he styles the people, over the higher classes, by saying that a combination was formed in the other Colonies to crush and ruin New York if she refused to enter into their measures; and that the news of the battles of Lexington and Concord so increased the enthusiasm of the people that the powers of government were completely prostrated. But the whole tenor of Colden's letters for the five preceding years shows that there was an irrepressible sympathy of all classes with the cause of Massachusetts, and that it was only held in check by the mingled terrorism and blandishments of the government.

Early in June open appeals were made to the handful of British troops in the city to desert, and many of them did so. To put a stop to the desertion, it was determined to ship the troops on board a man-of-war. But so bold had become the rioters, and so feeble the government, that even this measure could not be executed without insult and interruption. "As soon as the troops marched from the barracks," says Colden, "several people began to harangue them, exhorting them to desert, and assuring them of sufficient protection. Two or three fellows had the hardiness to turn off with their arms from the ranks, and were immediately carried away by the people." When the troops arrived at the water's edge, ready to embark, the mob seized and carried off all the ammunition and spare arms, and "the troops embarked without their baggage."

On the 11th May, 1775, the "General Committee of Association" of New York sent an address to the Lieutenant-governor, in which the great cause for which the Colonies

were struggling is stated with remarkable clearness and force. The following extracts will serve to convey a notion of the spirit and character of the address. In execution of the trust reposed in them by the people, the committee declare,—

“That our constituents, while they cheerfully yield that the legislature of the parent-state may make provisions in their nature merely calculated to regulate the trade of the empire, yet they claim as their indefeasible birthright a total exemption from all taxes, internal and external, by authority of Parliament, and from every aid to the Crown but on royal requisition to their representatives in Assembly, constitutionally convened and freely deliberating and determining upon every such requisition.

“That they never can nor will submit to the establishment of unconstitutional admiralty jurisdiction; but will ever regard them as engines that may be employed for the most tyrannical purposes.

“That they are determined never to part with their precious and lately invaded right of trial by peers of their vicinage in any case whatsoever.

“That they look with the utmost dread on every expedient, by authority of Parliament or otherwise, that may tend to secure from condign punishment offenders against the most essential rights of human nature, by removing them for their trial to places distant from the scene of perpetration, at the discretion of a governor or commander-in-chief.

“That they esteem, and therefore will by every lawful means oppose, the late oppressive restraints upon commerce, as subversive in their nature of the liberties of America.

“That they regard the hostile blockade of the port of Boston, the attack upon the venerable Charter of Rights of Massachusetts, the extension of the bounds of Quebec, the establishment of popery, and an arbitrary form of government in that Province, and the exclusive privileges virtually given to it in the Indian trade, as so many steps of an ill-judging administration that most eminently endanger the liberty and prosperity of the whole empire.

“That they view with inexpressible horror the bloody standard erected in the eastern part of the Confederated Colonies; and feel as in their own bodies every stroke which their brave compatriots have received from the hands of their fellow-subjects, cruelly and unnaturally armed against them by mistaken Ministerial severity.

“In short, that they are determined to equip themselves for maintaining with successful bravery and resolution, the unquestionable rights of Englishmen.”

The whole address is conceived in this manly spirit, while it is perfectly respectful to the Lieutenant-governor. His

reply is equally courteous, and evinces a conviction that a redress of the popular grievances was a prerequisite to the restoration of peace. It is due to Colden, and to Tryon, to say that they were both convinced of this fact, and that they had the candor to express the opinion in their communications with the government.

In Tryon's letter to Earl Dartmouth, dated New York, July 4, 1775, he announces his return to the Colony in the following significant language : "I arrived in the Government the 25th of last month, with apparent satisfaction to the inhabitants of this city, and received the next morning the great seal of the Province, and the diminished authority the Lieutenant governor had to transfer to me.

"The general revolt that has taken place in the Colonies has put his Majesty's civil Governors in the most degraded situation, left in the exercise of only such feeble executive powers as suits the present conveniences of the country, and this dependent on the caprice of a moment."

In the same letter Tryon sagaciously remarks : "If it were the wish, it is not in the power of any one Province to accommodate with Great Britain, being overawed and controlled by the general confederacy. Oceans of blood may be spilt, but in my opinion America will never receive Parliamentary taxation. I do not meet with any of the inhabitants who show the smallest inclination to draw the sword in support of that principle. I apprehend, the extremity of calamity which threatens America will not induce her to accept."

Three days later Tryon asks leave to return to England at his discretion, "it being very probable," he declares, "I may be either taken prisoner as a state hostage, or obliged to retire on board of his Majesty's ships of war, to avoid the insolence of an inflamed mob," etc.

On the same date he writes that the Mayor and Corporation had come to a resolution to present him an address ; but that they had been forbidden to do so by the Provincial Congress, and must yield. They, however, privately left with him a copy, to which he graciously made a reply. But in his letter to Dartmouth he says "That the intimidation and apprehension under which the Mayor and Corporation have acted on this occasion is a melancholy evidence of the impotence of his Majesty's officers and Ministers of Justice of this Province, and of the despotic power with which congresses and committees can control any body of people among the inhabitants of America."

The following is the polite admonition of the Congress to the Mayor and Corporation. It is admirable as an intimation of reserved power :

"IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, NEW YORK, }
July 5, 1775. }

"This Congress, being informed that the Corporation of

the city of New York intend to address his Excellency Governor Tryon,

"Resolved, That though this Congress entertain the highest respect for his Excellency, yet it will be altogether improper for the said corporation, or any other body corporate or individuals in this Colony, to address his Excellency at this most critical juncture. Resolved also, That one of the secretaries of this Congress do forthwith serve his Worship the Mayor with a copy hereof."

"A true copy from the minutes.

"ROBT. BENSON, *Secretary.*"

"The above copy of an order was served on me the day of the date thereof.

"WHITEHEAD HICKS, *Mayor.*"

On the 23d August, the citizens carried off twenty-one pieces of ordnance from the battery under Fort George, and ransacked the Governor's house in search of Captain Foy. Notwithstanding this and similar instances of rough treatment, Tryon became more fully persuaded that the Government of Great Britain should desist from the policy of taxing America; and that the Americans would never lay down their arms "unless they are called back by some liberal and conciliatory assurances." He seems to have been the only one of the royal Governors who was capable of comprehending the situation of affairs. "The Colonies have outgrown the government anciently set over them," said he, "which ought to rise in strength and dignity as they increase in wealth and population." These were the views of a statesman; and if as much wisdom had ruled in the British Cabinet as was sent to administer the local affairs of New York, the independence of America would have been postponed for a generation at least.

On the 19th October, Governor Tryon left his residence in the city, and went on board a British vessel in the harbor, as a measure of security for his person. This was after a correspondence with the Mayor, in which he required a guaranty of security against arrest and insult as a condition of his remaining longer in the city. Both the Mayor and corporate authorities, and the committee, expressed an earnest desire for him to remain: but they failed to give him the positive assurance he demanded, and he therefore retired on board a ship under the protection of the Asia man-of-war. All the Crown officers followed his example; leaving the control of affairs entirely to the Provincial Congress.

In November a general permission was sent from the King, through Earl Dartmouth, to the colonial Governors and King's officers, to leave their posts whenever their safety should demand the step. Most of them had acted on this principle long before the permission arrived,

The following "letter produced to the Continental Congress and the copy sent to this, in New York," induced Tryon to desert the shore :

"Tryon, with all his malignity of heart, is obliged to lay still as the four regiments are gone to Boston ; he is high in esteem with administration for his behavior at N. Carolina; his plan that he laid for enslaving his country when in England is not laid aside. It will be a capital stroke to secure Governor Tryon's person."

The reference above is to Tryon's suppression of the Regulators in North Carolina, which will be treated of in its proper place. His extravagant expenditures while Governor of that Colony, and the corrupt practices of his subordinates, provoked the revolt of the common people, under the name of Regulators.

This narrative thus far, and much of that which follows, has been gathered from the copious New York historical collection made by Dr. O'Callaghan. Strange to say, with the most ample materials at hand, the history of New York has never been written, except in meagre and fragmentary parts. As to the Colonial period, her histories, so far as I can find, are mere sketches.

Meeting of Freeholders, etc., in New Windsor (Ulster County), New York :

"March 14, 1775.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the precinct of New Windsor, in the county of Ulster and Province of New York, legally convened by mutual consent in order to elect a Committee of Observation and deliberate on other matters relative to our political welfare, this 14th day of March, 1775 ; then proceeded and chose Mr. George Denniston, chairman and the following persons for the above-named committee, viz. : Mr. George Denniston, Mr. Robert Cross, Mr. Joseph Belknap, Mr. Francis Mandeville, Mr. Nuoc Shutts, and Mr. Hezekiah White ; afterwards did solemnly agree to and with each other in observing the following resolutions ourselves, and, as far as our influence may extend, recommend them to the observation of others, viz. :

"Resolved, 2dly, *nem. con.*, That we will yield to none in point of affection, and loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, but will each one for himself, when thereto legally called (even though to the most distant and remote parts of his Majesty's empire), venture our lives and properties in defence of our sovereign's person, family, and government, when exercised on the above-named principles. It is with the greatest regret and deepest concern of heart, we conceive a plan adopted and invariably pursued for a number of years past by the British Parliament for enslaving us by

levying taxes on us without our consent, and declaring they (the Parliament) are fully vested with power to make laws obligatory on us in all cases whatsoever.

"Resolved therefore, 3dly, *nem. con.*, That such declarations and unbounded power assumed are subversive of our natural and legal rights as British subjects; and that we would be far deficient in point of duty to our King and the British Constitution were we to yield a tame submission to them.

"But as the wisdom and prudence of the whole continent had been called forth in appointing and holding a Constitutional Congress in order to state our grievances and point out the means by which we may be relieved from them,

"Resolved, 4thly, *nem. con.*, That we do sincerely and willingly accord to the Association entered into by that body, with a full determination to abide by and observe the same, and do unfeignedly thank our worthy Delegates of the Province of New York, in conjunction with the rest of that honorable body, for the care they have taken for the security of our liberties, and the patriotic principles they have exhibited to the world, which will remain more sure and permanent in the annals of American history than monuments either of brass or marble erected to the honor and perpetuity of their memory."

ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

"NEW YORK, May 4, 1775.

"The following Association was set on foot here last Saturday, April 29th, and has been transmitted for signing to all the counties in the Province, and signed by most of the men of this city:

"Persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of America depend under God on the firm union of its inhabitants in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend a dissolution of the powers of government; we, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city and county of New York, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the Ministry to raise a revenue in America, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay, do in the most solemn manner resolve never to become slaves; and do associate under all the ties of religion, honor, and love of country to adopt and endeavor to carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, for the purpose of preserving our Constitution and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles (which we

most ardently desire) can be obtained; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our General Committee respecting the purposes aforesaid—the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.”

Cumberland County (N. Y.) Committee.

“At a full meeting of the Delegates from the several towns in the county of Cumberland, Colony of New York, convened at Westminster, June 6, 1775:

“The county of Cumberland, having received certain intelligence from Mr. Isaac Low, chairman of the Committee of Correspondence at New York, that it is the desire of the said respectable Committee of Correspondence of New York that the sense of the people in said county of Cumberland should be fully known with regard to the hostile measures that are using by the British Parliament to enforce the late cruel, unjust, and oppressive acts of said British Parliament through the British Colonies in America;—we, the Delegates from the several towns and districts in said county of Cumberland, being chosen by the freeholders and inhabitants of the same to exhibit to the Provincial Congress the sense and voice of the people with regard to the unjust proceedings of the British Parliament, etc., do pass the following resolves:

“1st. Resolved, *nem. con.*, That the late acts of the British Parliament passed in order to raise a revenue in America are unjust, illegal, and diametrically opposite to the Bill of Rights and a fundamental principle of the British Constitution which is ‘that no person shall have his property taken from him without his consent.’

“2d. Resolved, *nem. con.*, That we will resist and oppose the said acts of Parliament, in conjunction with our brethren in America, at the expense of our lives and fortunes, to the last extremity, if our duty to God and our country require the same.

“3d. Resolved, *nem. con.*, That we think it needless to pass many resolves exhibiting our sentiments with regard to the unhappy controversy subsisting between Great Britain and America. Let it suffice, therefore, that we fully acquiesce with what our brethren have lately done at New York in their late Association; and it is hereby resolved, That the late Association entered into at New York is perfectly agreeable to the sentiments of the freeholders and inhabitants of this county, and that they fully acquiesce in the same.”

Brookhaven (New York) Committee.

“At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Brookhaven, in the county of Suffolk and Province of New York, on the 8th day of June, 1775: Then

by a large majority of votes were chosen and elected sixteen persons as a Committee of Observation to represent said town, and to deliberate on other matters relative to our present political welfare.

"Agreed that the last Tuesday in June be appointed as a day for the above-named committee to meet."

"Then proceeded and chose John Woodhull, Esq., chairman, and Mr. Samuel Thompson, clerk, and entered into the following votes and resolutions:

"1st. Resolved, *nem. con.*, That we express our loyalty to his Majesty King George the Third, and acknowledge him as our rightful lord and sovereign, as settled on Revolutionary principles, being of legal descent from the illustrious house of Brunswick, to the utter exclusion of the family of the Stuarts, who by their despotic and tyrannical principles were deservedly banished and rendered unfit to sway the British sceptre.

"2d. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that the above resolution was the opinion of the Continental Congress that sat last year, and is also the opinion of the Continental Congress and our Provincial Congress now sitting; and that it is also the opinion of very far the greater part of English inhabitants of this most extensive continent.

"3d. Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this committee that the several acts passed in the British Parliament for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America; also the acts for stopping the port of Boston, for altering their charter and government, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, and abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting in their stead French despotic government in Canada; as also the act for restraining the New England fishery, and many other acts of a similar nature; and further declaring they have power vested in them to make laws binding on us in all cases whatsoever,—are contrary to the Constitution and subversive of our legal rights as English freemen and British subjects.

"4th. Resolved, *nem. con.*, That we will use our utmost endeavors as far as in us lie, and we will earnestly recommend it to our constituents strictly and invariably to abide by and adhere to the determinations and resolutions of the honorable the Continental Congress and also strictly to comply with the injunctions of our Provincial Convention, which (under God), we hope is the most effectual means to obtain a redress of our present public grievances, and save us from impending ruin.

"A Committee of Correspondence was also appointed by the Assembly, which approved of a general Congress."

The mechanics were organized into an association, and it was found expedient to consult their views and wishes.

On the 6th July, 1774, a public meeting was held in the

"Fields," which favored more vigorous measures than those proposed by the committee. Resolutions were adopted which denounced the Boston Port Bill as "oppressive to the inhabitants of the town, unconstitutional in its principles, and dangerous to the liberties of British America." They also resolved in favor of non-intercourse, and in favor of sending relief to the distressed inhabitants of Boston. This meeting was presided over by Alexander McDougall, whom Lieutenant-governor Colden styled the John Wilkes of America. Though a member of the committee, he was too radical for that body, and this meeting was called without its approbation and disapproved of. The other members of the committee who participated in this meeting in the "Fields,"—the Bowery—were Francis Lewis, Joseph Hallett, P. V. B. Livingston, Isaac Sears, Thomas Randall, Abraham P. Lott, and Leonard Lispenard. They withdrew from the Committee; and were joined in this step by three other members who were not present, viz.: John Browne, Abraham Brosher, and Jacobus van Zandt.

Notwithstanding this schism, all parties agreed in sending the same five Delegates to Philadelphia, who were pledged to vote for non-importation.

The committee, at a meeting on May 8, 1775, denounced as enemies all who shall sell arms to persons who are not friends to the rights of the Colony. They also required a regular return of all arms on hand or to be purchased.

The Delegates in the Continental Congress were not authorized to assent to a Declaration of Independence, on the 4th of July, 1776, but authority was promptly given when the fact was made known to the convention of the Colony, sitting in New York City, July 9th.

PENNSYLVANIA.

No Colony displayed more gratitude to the King and Parliament when news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received, than Pennsylvania, as has been seen in a preceding chapter; but when that repeal was followed up by a declaration of the right of the Parliament to bind the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever," and by the practical assertion of that claim by the passage of the tax on paper, glass, tea, and other articles, she was as prompt and as spontaneous in her opposition as the foremost of her sisters.

On the 20th February, 1768, the Assembly instructed their agents in London "to co-operate with the agents of the other Colonies in any decent and respectful application to Parliament, in case such application should be made by them, for a repeal of the late acts imposing duties on the importation of paper, glass, etc., into the American Provinces; which act, they said, was looked upon as highly injurious to the rights of the people and their commercial interest."

"In September of the following year," says Gordon, "the Governor laid before them a letter from the Earl of Hillsborough, lately appointed to the new office of Secretary to the Colonies, denouncing the circular [of the Massachusetts Assembly, which remonstrated against the new act for taxing the Colonies] as of the most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of the Colonists, promote unwarrantable combinations, excite and encourage open opposition to and denial of the authority of Parliament, and to subvert the true principles of the Constitution. He was commanded 'to use his utmost influence to defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace by prevailing upon the Assembly of his Province to take no notice of it, thereby treating it with the contempt it deserved.' The repeated proofs, continued the Secretary, 'which the Assembly of Pennsylvania had given of their reverence and respect for the Constitution, left no doubt of their showing a proper resentment of this unjustifiable attempt to revive those distractions which have operated so fatally to the prejudice of the kingdom and Colonies.' But, should it be otherwise, and a disposition appear in the Assembly to countenance this seditious paper, the Governor was further commanded to prorogue and dissolve them—a command which could be executed by the abrogation of their Charter only. Immediately after the letter had been read, Mr. Galloway, the speaker, laid before the house a circular from the Assembly of Virginia, recapitulating the grievances and agreements of Massachusetts, and recommending a union of the Colonies in opposition to the measures having an immediate tendency to enslave them, by which means they anticipated the re-establishment of the Constitution upon its genuine principles.

"This recommendation was adopted by the Assembly, and a committee appointed to prepare petitions to the King, and upper and lower Houses of Parliament. And that no mistake might exist in regard to their sentiments on the letter of the Earl of Hillsborough, they resolved, 'That, by their Charter and laws, they had a right to sit on their own adjournments; and that the Governor had no constitutional authority to prorogue or dissolve them; and that it was their undoubted right to correspond with the representatives of the freemen, of any of his Majesty's Colonies in America, relative to grievances which might affect the general welfare of the Colonies, in order to obtain, by decent petitions to his Majesty and his Parliament, redress of such grievances.'

The petitions to the King and Parliament, Mr. Gordon suggests, were probably written by Mr. Allen, who was the representative from Cumberland, and Chief Justice. "Our ancestors," say the petitioners, in their address to the King, "near a century past, with a view of enjoying that liberty,

both civil and religious, of which they were in a great measure deprived in their native land, to extend the empire of the British dominions, to increase its commerce, and promote its wealth and power before the accession of your Majesty's illustrious house to the British throne, removed from the mother-country to the Province of Pennsylvania, then a wilderness. The disadvantages, dangers, and distresses necessarily attendant upon this separation from their friends and relatives, and the land of their nativity, we trust must appear to your Majesty's wisdom too evident to need a repetition; and yet, with inexpressible labor, toil, and expense, and without the least assistance from the parent-state, they and their descendants, by their prudence and strict economy, have peopled, planted, and improved that wilderness into an extensive and heretofore flourishing Colony, and thereby greatly added to the commerce and wealth of the nation, and to the power and dignity of your Majesty's empire.

"While thus contributing to the welfare of the mother-state, and struggling with innumerable difficulties to enlarge its dominions, we most humbly conceive that your Majesty's faithful subjects of this Province have, by no act whatever, surrendered up or forfeited those constitutional rights and liberties which were inseparably annexed to their persons as natural-born subjects of the British Government; but, on the contrary, that those rights, brought over by our ancestors to this land, are now vested in their descendants as an inheritance the most important and valuable, on the enjoyment whereof their future safety and happiness depend."

"Thus possessed of the rights of Englishmen derived to them from the most excellent Constitution, and under a firm persuasion that the enjoyment and full exercise thereof would be continued down to your people of this Colony, and their latest posterity, it is with inexpressible concern and anxiety that we find ourselves under the necessity of representing to your Majesty that certain duties and taxes for the sole purpose of raising a revenue have been imposed by Parliament on your Majesty's American subjects, although they have no representative or voice in that most respectable and august body. That this taxation, we most humbly apprehend, is destructive of those rights and that freedom which they are by birth entitled to as men and Englishmen, who cannot be legally taxed, either by the principles of equity or the Constitution, but by themselves or legal representatives; and that, should this law remain unrepealed, and the Commons of Great Britain exercise in future the power of granting the property of your Majesty's American subjects without their consent, and without having any Constitutional opportunity of being informed of their true circumstances and ability to bear such taxation, which their situation and distance from the mother-country render im-

practicable, your faithful people of these Colonies will possess nothing which they can call their own—all security of property will be lost.”

The modification of the revenue act by the repeal of all the duties except that on tea was far from satisfying the Colonies, since the right to tax was still asserted. The non-importation and non-consumption agreements of the Colonists as to this article, imported from Great Britain, effectually nullified the act; and for some years there was a cessation of political excitement on the subject, until the arrival of the East India Company's cargoes of tea, in the latter part of 1773, precipitated the conflict.

But the “Assembly of Pennsylvania renewed their protest against the revenue act,” says Gordon, “after its modification, as a precedent for future oppression; and they instructed their agent, Dr. Franklin, to oppose whatever might affect the liberties of America or the rights of the Province, and, more especially, any plan which might be proposed for an American representation in Parliament.”

“The conduct of the Pennsylvanians was prompt, bold, yet temperate. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, held on the eighteenth of October, 1773, it was resolved,—

“That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can of right take from us without our consent; that the claim of Parliament to tax America is, in other words, a right to levy contributions on us at pleasure;

“That the duty imposed by Parliament on tea landed in America is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them without their consent;

“That the express purpose for which the tax is levied on the Americans—namely, for the support of the Government, administration of justice, and defence of his Majesty's dominions in America—has a direct tendency to render Assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery;

“That a virtuous and steady opposition to this Ministerial plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to posterity;

“That the resolution lately entered into by the East India Company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this Ministerial plan and a violent attack on the liberties of America;

“That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt;

“That whoever shall directly or indirectly countenance

this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent or to be sent out by the East India Company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country;

"That a committee be immediately chosen to wait on those gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India Company to receive and sell said tea, and request them, from a regard to their own characters and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment."

"PHILADELPHIA, Monday, June 13, 1774.

"On Thursday evening last, June 9th, about twelve hundred mechanics of this city and suburbs assembled at the State-house to hear a letter read from the mechanics of the city of New York, and to form such resolutions as should be judged proper for their future conduct at this most alarming and critical time when American liberty is so deeply wounded, and her rights so unjustly invaded by levying taxes on us, without our consent, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and for refusing payment of those illegal taxes; blocking up with divers ships of war the port and town of Boston, thereby most unjustly depriving that once flourishing town of its whole trade, the inhabitants of their private property, and the laboring poor of the means of subsisting themselves and families. These proceedings of the parent-state against her American children call aloud upon all Americans to assemble, consult, and determine firmly to pursue such measures for their own and neighbors' future security as shall be judged most likely to avert the present calamity, and secure to them the perfect enjoyment of their liberties and properties upon a fixed and lasting foundation; for which purpose the mechanics of this city did propose and intend at this meeting to form such resolutions to co-operate with the committee of merchants, and to strengthen their hands, as will convince the world Americans were born and determined to live free, and that they never will be slaves; that liberty is their birthright, —they cannot, they will not, give it up."

Lancaster (Penn.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Lancaster, at the Court-house in said borough, on Wednesday the 15th day of June, 1774,

"Agreed, That, to preserve the Constitutional rights of the inhabitants of America, it is incumbent on every Colony to unite, and use the most effectual means to procure a repeal of the late acts of Parliament against the town of Boston;

That the act of Parliament for blocking up the port and harbor of Boston is an invasion of the rights of the inhabi-

tants of the said town as subjects of the Crown of Great Britain; that it is the opinion of the inhabitants of this meeting that the most proper and effectual means to be used to obtain a repeal of the said act will be to put an immediate stop to all imports and exports to and from Great Britain until the same act be repealed; that the traders and inhabitants of this town will join and concur with the patriotic merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and freeholders of the city and county of Philadelphia, and other parts of the Province, in the association of solemn agreement to this purpose, if it shall be by them thought necessary."

City and County of Philadelphia (Penn.) Resolutions.

At a very large and respectable meeting of the freeholders and freemen of the city and county of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, held on Saturday, June 18, 1774, T. Willing and John Dickinson, chairmen:

"Resolved, 1st. That the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British Colonies, and that therefore we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America.

"2d. That a congress of deputies from the several Colonies in North America is the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of American grievances, securing our rights and liberties, and re-establishing peace and harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

"3d. That a large and respectable committee be immediately appointed for the city and county of Philadelphia, to correspond with the sister-Colonies, and with the several counties in this Province, in order that all may unite in promoting and endeavoring to attain the great and valuable ends mentioned in the foregoing resolutions."

Chester County (Penn.) Resolutions.

At a meeting of a respectable body of the freeholders, inhabitants of the county of Chester, on Saturday the 18th of June, 1774, the following resolutions were deliberately and unanimously agreed on, viz.:

"1. That it is an absolute right, inherent in every English subject, to have the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all his property, either by himself or his representatives; and that no other power on earth can legally divest himself of it.

"2d. That we apprehend the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston (until his Majesty's duties be duly collected, etc.) is highly arbitrary and oppressive to the in-

habitants of that town, and in its consequence may endanger the liberties of all the British Colonies in America.

"3d. That the two bills mentioned in the last advices from London to be passing in Parliament, one changing the chartered Constitution of the Province of Massachusetts Bay into a military government, and the other empowering the Governor or Lieutenant-governor to send any person or persons to England to be tried for actions committed in that Colony, are subversive of every idea of liberty, and serve as a prelude to the fate of each chartered British Colony on this continent."

"4th. That a Congress of Deputies from the said Colonies is the probable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress, and preserving our natural rights and liberties, and the establishing peace and mutual confidence between the mother-country and her Colonies on a Constitutional foundation."

Northampton County (Pa.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the justices, the gentlemen of the bar, Grand Jury, and principal inhabitants of the county of Northampton, held at Easton on the 21st day of June, 1774,

"George Taylor, Esq., in the chair,

"It being considered that it was necessary for all the counties of this Province to join with their brethren of Philadelphia in expressing their sentiments upon the present interesting occasion relative to the oppressive acts of Parliament lately passed in Great Britain, tending to destroy the liberties of North America, it was unanimously resolved as follows:

"1st. That the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is an act of the highest oppression and a violation of the liberties of America.

"2d. That as we consider the inhabitants of the said town as suffering in the common cause of American freedom, we will assist them to obtain redress by every legal act in our power.

"3d. That it is our opinion the most constitutional and effectual method for obtaining such redress is by having a general Congress of committees, to be composed and chosen out of the members of the different Assemblies of each Colony."

Pennsylvania Convention.

"At a Provincial Meeting of Deputies chosen by the several counties in Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, Friday, July 15, 1774, and continued by adjournments from day to day, Agreed, That, in case of any difference in sentiment, the question be determined by the Deputies voting by counties. The letters from Boston of the 13th of May were

then read, and a short account given of the steps taken in consequence thereof, and the measures now pursuing in this and the other neighboring Provinces. After which the following resolves were passed:

"Unanimously, 1, That we acknowledge ourselves, and the inhabitants of this Province, liege subjects of his Majesty King George the Third, to whom they and we owe and will bear true and faithful allegiance.

"Unanimously, 2, That, as the idea of an unconstitutional independence on the parent-state is utterly abhorrent to our principles, we view the unhappy differences between Great Britain and the Colonies with the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, as fruitless to her, grievous to us and destructive of the best interests of both.

"Unanimously, 3, That it is therefore our ardent desire that our ancient harmony with the mother-country should be restored, and a perpetual love and union subsist between us, on the principles of the Constitution, and an interchange of good offices, without the least infraction of our mutual rights.

"Unanimously, 4, That the inhabitants of these Colonies are entitled to the same rights and liberties within these Colonies that the subjects born in England are entitled to within that realm.

"Unanimously, 5, That the power assumed by the Parliament of Great Britain to bind the people of these Colonies 'by statutes in all cases whatsoever' is unconstitutional, and therefore the source of these unhappy differences.

"Unanimously, 6, That the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British Colonies, and therefore that we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of these Colonies.

"Unanimously, 7, That the bill for altering the administration of justice in certain criminal cases within the Province of Massachusetts Bay, if passed into an act of Parliament, will be as unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous as the act above mentioned.

"Unanimously, 8, That the bill for changing the Constitution of the Province of Massachusetts Bay established by charter and enjoyed since the grant of that charter, if passed into an act of Parliament, will be unconstitutional and dangerous in its consequence to the American Colonies.

"Unanimously, 9, That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies be immediately assembled, to consult together and form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the Colonies for the purpose of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of our grievances, preventing future dis-

sensions, firmly establishing our rights and restoring harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

"Unanimously, 10, That, although a suspension of the commerce of this large trading Province with Great Britain would greatly distress multitudes of our industrious inhabitants, yet that sacrifice and a much greater we are ready to offer for the preservation of our liberties; but in tenderness to the people of Great Britain, as well as of this country, and in hopes that our just remonstrances will at length reach the ears of our gracious sovereign and be no longer treated with contempt by any of our fellow-subjects in England, it is our earnest desire that the Congress should first try the gentler mode of stating our grievances and making a firm and decent claim of redress.

"11, Resolved, by a great majority, That yet, notwithstanding, as an unanimity of counsels and measures is indispensably necessary for the common welfare, if Congress shall judge agreements of non-importation and non-exportation expedient, the people of this Province will join with the other principal and neighboring Colonies in such an association of non-importation from and non-exportation to Great Britain as shall be agreed at the Congress."

"ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA, }
July 22, 1774. }

"Ordered, That the resolve of the Committee of the Whole be received immediately. Mr. Rhodes then (according to order) reported the said resolve, which he first read in his place, and then delivered at the clerk's table, where the said resolve was again read by order, and follows in these words, viz.: The Committee of the Whole House, taking into their most serious consideration the unfortunate differences which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and been greatly increased by the operation and effects of divers late acts of the British Parliament,—

"Resolved, N. C. D., That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies be held, as soon as conveniently may be, to consult together upon the present unhappy state of the Colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purposes of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid Constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies which is indispensably necessary for the welfare and happiness of both."

"The House resumed the consideration of the resolve from the Committee of the Whole House, and, after some debate thereon, adopted and confirmed the same."

PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION.

Proceedings of the convention for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, and continued by adjournments to the 28th:

“Resolved unanimously, That this convention most heartily approve of the conduct and proceedings of the Continental Congress; that we will faithfully endeavor to carry into execution the measures of the association entered into and recommended by them; and that the members of that very respectable body merit our warmest thanks by their great and disinterested labours for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the British Colonies.

“Thursday, December 8, 1774.

“The members deputed in behalf of this Province to attend the general Congress held at the city of Philadelphia in September and October last, presented to the chair a printed journal of the resolutions and proceedings of the said Congress, together with a report in writing, which latter was read by order, and follows in these words, viz.:

“We, the committee appointed on the part of this Province by the late and present Houses of Representatives to attend the Congress of deputies from the several Colonies, beg leave to report the performance of that service as contained in a journal of that Congress here with delivered, which we humbly submit to the consideration of the House:

“EDWARD BIDDLE,
CHAS. HUMPHREYS,
JOHN DICKINSON,
JOHN MORTON,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

“PHILADELPHIA December 8, 1774.

“Ordered, That the reading and consideration of the journal of the proceedings of the general Congress be deferred till to-morrow.

“Friday, December 9, 1774.

“The House proceeded in the consideration of the resolutions of the Congress, and, after some debate, ordered that the further consideration thereof be deferred till to-morrow morning.

“Saturday, December 10, 1774.

“The House, agreeable to the order of yesterday, taking into consideration the report of the committee appointed to attend the general Congress, and the papers therein referred to,—

“Resolved unanimously, That this House approve the proceedings and resolves of the Congress, and do most seriously recommend to the good people of this Province a strict attention to and an inviolable observation of the several

matters and things contained in the journal of the Congress.
Upon motion,

"Ordered That the foregoing resolution be immediately made public."

NEWTOWN (BUCKS COUNTY), PA., }
"January 16, 1775.

"A large majority of the committee chosen in said county on the 15th of December last, in pursuance of notice for that purpose given, this day assembled in said town and unanimously chose

"Joseph Hart, Esq., chairman, and John Chapman, clerk.

"The committee, then taking into consideration the measures recommend by the Continental Congress for the redress of American grievances, entered into the following resolves unanimously:

"1st. That we highly approve of the pacific measures recommended by the Continental Congress for the redress of American grievanees, and do hereby render our unfeigned thanks to the worthy gentlemen who composed that august assembly, for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them.

"2d. That we hold ourselves bound, in justice to ourselves, our posterity, our King, and our country, strictly to observe and keep the association of said Congress, especially as it is recommended to us by the united voice of our representatives in Assembly, and, as a committee, will use our utmost endeavors to have it carried into execution.

"3d. That we hold it as our bounden duty, both as Christians and as countrymen, to contribute towards the relief and support of the poor inhabitants of the town of Boston now suffering in the general cause of all the Colonies; and we do hereby recommend the raising of a sum of money for that purpose, to every inhabitant or taxable in this county, as soon as possible."

Chester County (Pa.) Committee.

March 20, 1775.

"Pursuant to adjournment and public notice given, the committee of Chester County met at the house of Richard Cheyney, in East Coln.

"On motion, ordered, That Mr. Hockley, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Grenow, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Frazer, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Taylor be and they are hereby appointed a committee to essay a draft of a petition to present to the general Assembly of this Province, with regard to the manumission of slaves; especially relating to the freedom of infants hereafter born of black women within this Colony; and do make report of the same to this committee at their next meeting.

"On motion, ordered, That each member in this committee will use his utmost diligence in collecting the several sums of money subscribed for the use of Boston, and pay

the same into the hands of Anthony Wayne, Esq., treasurer, at the next meeting of this committee."

"Committee of Yorktown, York County, Penn., to John Hancock and Thomas Cushing:

"YORKTOWN, April 13, 1775.

"HONOURED FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN: Sorry are we to hear that the hand of oppression still bears hard on your city, and that the distresses of your poor are not yet alleviated. If your misfortunes and sufferings could be divided, the inhabitants of this county would cheerfully bear a part. This, it seems, cannot be done; your destined town must stand the shock alone. We want words to express the high sense we have of your conduct and virtue; few men in the world would have opposed despotism and stood the torrent of Ministerial despotism with so much steadiness, intrepidity, and resolution as the inhabitants of your town and county have done. You have true notions of liberty. You have purchased it. You ought to enjoy it. The noble stand made by the Province of Massachusetts Bay, if faithfully adhered to, has laid the foundation for establishing American liberty on the most firm basis. The other Colonies will be equally gainers by a favorable determination of the contest, and will not desert you in the time of danger; they will doubtless grant you the most effectual assistance.

"This county, upon the earliest intelligence of your distress, forwarded subscriptions for the poor of Boston. Grain was generally subscribed; we expected to have sent it last fall, but could not collect it at any seaport before the winter season came on; so that the shipping of it was postponed till the spring. Upon the meeting of the committee of this county in February last, shortly after the receipt of the King's speech to the Parliament, it was thought that it would not be safe to send grain. The committee therefore determined to convert the grain into cash, and remit the same in specie or bills of exchange to you. Your poor have suffered much by this resolution, as the price of wheat is greatly fallen. The subscriptions of but a part of the county have yet come in. We send you the sum of £246 8s. 10d., to be remitted to you in bills of exchange or specie, by Messrs. Jonathan B. Smith and John Mitchell, merchants, of Philadelphia, which be pleased to distribute among our poor and unhappy countrymen in your town, or in its neighborhood, in such manner as you shall think proper. As there are a few disaffected people in this Province, we must trouble you to publish the receipt of the donations as is mentioned in the inclosed paper. Your friends here are numerous, and most heartily interested themselves in your favor. As soon as the rest of the subscriptions in this county are paid, we shall cheerfully remit the same to you.

"We wish you a speedy relief from all your sufferings,

and are, gentlemen, with the greatest respect, your real friends and most obedient humble servants,

“ James Smith, <i>Pres. Com.</i> ;	
“ Geo. Eichelberger,	Geo. Fuvin,
David Grier,	Jos. Donaldson,
Michael Dowdle,	Michael Schmyser,
Michael Swope,	Balzard Spangler,
Peter Reel,	John Hay.
Thomas Hartley,	

“ *Committee of Correspondence of York County.*

“ To John Hancock and Thomas Cushing, Esqrs., committee for receiving and distributing the donations for the poor of Boston.”

“ PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY, {
May 4, 1775. }

“ The House met pursuant to adjournment. The committee appointed to prepare and bring in a draft of an answer to the Governor’s message, reported an essay for that purpose, which, being read by paragraphs, and, after some alteration, agreed to by the House, was ordered to be transcribed. The answer of the House to Governor’s message, being transcribed according to order, was again read, signed by the speaker, and follows as in these words, viz.:

“ May it Please Your Honour: We have taken into our serious consideration your message of the second instant, and the resolution of the British House of Commons therein referred to.

“ Having “weighed and considered this plan with the temper, calmness, and deliberation that the importance of the subject and the present critical situation of affairs demand,” we are sincerely sorry that we cannot “think the terms pointed out” afford “a just and reasonable ground for a final accommodation” between Great Britain and the Colonies. Your Honour observes “that the Colonies, amidst all those complaints which a jealousy of their liberties has occasioned, have never denied the justice or equity of contributing towards the burdens of the mother-country;” but your Honour must know that they have ever unanimously asserted it as their indisputable right that all aids from them should be their own free and voluntary gifts, not taken by force nor extorted by fear. Under which of these descriptions the “plan held forth and offered by the parent to her children” at this time, with its attendant circumstances, deserves to be classed, we choose rather to submit to the determination of your Honour’s good sense, than to attempt proving by the enumeration of notorious facts or the repetition of obvious reasons. If no other objection to “the plan proposed” occurred to us, we should esteem it a dishonorable desertion of sister-Colonies, connected by a union,

founded on great motives and mutual faith, and conducted by general councils, for a single Colony to adopt a measure so extensive in consequence, without the advice and consent of those Colonies engaged with us by solemn ties in the same common cause.”

Extract of a letter from Carlisle (Cumberland Co.), Pennsylvania, dated May 6, 1775:

“Yesterday the county committee met from nineteen townships on the short notice they had. About three thousand men have already associated. The arms returned amount to about fifteen hundred. The committee have voted five hundred effective men, besides commissioned officers, to be immediately drafted, taken into pay, armed, and disciplined, to march on the first emergency; to be paid and supported as long as necessary by a tax on all estates, real and personal, in the county; the returns to be taken by the township committees and the tax laid by the commissioners and assessors; the pay of the officers and men nearly as usual in times past. This morning we met again at eight o'clock; among the subjects of inquiry this day, the mode of drafting or taking into pay, arming, and victualling immediately, the men and the choice of field and other officers will, among other important matters, be the subject of deliberation. The strength of spirit of this county may perhaps appear small if judged of by the number of men proposed; but when it is considered that we are ready to raise fifteen hundred or two thousand, should we have support from the Province, and that, independent and in uncertain expectation of such support, we have voluntarily drawn upon this county a debt of about twenty seven thousand pounds per annum, I hope we shall not appear contemptible. We make great improvement in military discipline; it is yet uncertain who may go.”

Bucks County (Pa.) Committee.

“At a meeting of the committee of the county of Bucks, held at the house of Richard Leedom, May the 8, 1775,—

“Resolved unanimously, That we do heartily approve of the resolves of the late Provincial convention held at Philadelphia the 23d day of January last, and do earnestly recommend it to the observation of the inhabitants of this county.

“Resolved unanimously, That notwithstanding the disapprobation we have hitherto shown to the prosecution of any violent measures of opposition arising from the hopes and expectations that the humanity, justice, and magnanimity of the British nation would not fail of affording us relief; being now convinced that all our most dutiful applications have hitherto been fruitless and vain, and that at-

tempts are now making to carry the oppressive acts of Parliament into execution by military force, we do therefore earnestly recommend to the people of this county to form themselves into associations in their respective townships, to improve themselves in the military art, that they may be rendered capable of affording their country that aid which its particular necessities may at any time require.

“Joseph Hart, John Kidd, Joseph Kirkbride, James Wallace, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, are appointed as delegates to meet in Provincial convention, if any should be found necessary.

“The committee request all persons who have taken subscriptions for the relief of the poor of Boston as soon as possible to collect and pay the same into the hands of the treasurer, Henry Wynkoop, that it may be speedily applied towards the benevolent purpose for which it was intended; and at the same time to give those who have not subscribed an opportunity to contribute also.

“By order of the committee.

“HENRY WYNKOOP, *Clerk.*

Chester County (Pa.) Committee.

“At a meeting of the committee for the county of Chester, at the borough of Chester, May 15, 1775,

“Anthony Wayne, Esq., in the chair, the following resolves were made, viz.:

“Whereas, The British Parliament, instead of hearing our just complaints or showing the least regard to the dutiful and lawful petition of the late Continental Congress on behalf of America, have proceeded to fresh acts of tyranny and oppression, which, added to an address of both Lords and Commons to his Majesty, declaring the inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay to be in a state of open rebellion, and several of the other Colonies encouragers of the same, have induced the soldiery under the command of General Gage, at Boston, to commence a civil war by wantonly firing upon and murdering a number of the inhabitants of that Province: And whereas, The said address militates equally against all the inhabitants of the other Colonies who have the virtue to refuse obedience to laws and measures destructive to the best rights and liberties of America, which, if suffered to take effect, must inevitably reduce these Colonies to a state of abject slavery, from which in all probability no human efforts would ever be able to rescue them; and although we will not yield to any of our fellow-subjects in point of duty and loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, yet we cannot be so far negligent of our own happiness as totally to neglect providing for our common safety: Therefore,—

“Resolved unanimously, 1st, That it is the indispensable duty of all the freemen of this county immediately

to form and enter into associations for the purpose of learning the military art; and that they provide themselves with proper arms and ammunition to be ready in case of emergency to defend our liberty, property, and lives against all attempts to deprive us of them. And we solemnly engage to promote such associations to the utmost of our power.

"2d, Resolved, *nem. con.*, That no powder be expended in this county except on emergent occasions, and the store- and shop-keepers are requested not to dispose of any except to some one or more of this committee, who are ordered to purchase the same.

"3d, Resolved, *nem. con.*, That this committee, confiding in the wisdom and virtue of the Continental Congress now sitting in Philadelphia, will adopt and use their utmost endeavors to carry into execution all such measures as the said Congress shall recommend for the preservation of American liberty.

"4th. Resolved, *nem. con.*, It is earnestly recommended, to every subscriber in this county for the relief of the poor in Boston, that they immediately pay the same, as it is much wanted for the benevolent purposes intended.

"5th. Resolved, *nem. con.*, That each member of this committee will give his attendance at the borough of Chester, on the the 31st of this instant, at ten o'clock A.M., in order to consult the justices, Grand Jury, and Board of Commissioners and Assessors on ways and means to procure a proper quantity of arms and ammunition for the use of this county.'

"The committee then adjourned to the time and place above mentioned. By order of the committee.

"FRANCIS JOHNSTON,

"Secretary."

Meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland County, Pa.

"At a general meeting of the inhabitants of this county of Westmoreland, held at Hanna's Town, the 16th day of May, 1775, for taking into consideration the very alarming situation of this county occasioned by the dispute with Great Britain,—

"Resolved unanimously, That the Parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to be in rebellion, and the Ministry, by endeavoring to enforce these acts, have attempted to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their Constitutional and Chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the very means of subsistence,

"Resolved unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will (should it meet with success in the Massachusetts Bay) be extended to every other part of America; it is therefore become the indispensable duty of every American, of every man who has any public virtue or love for his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it: that for us we will be ready to oppose it with our lives and fortunes. And the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland County:

"Possessed with unshaken loyalty and fidelity to his Majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful King, and who we wish may long be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole British Empire; we declare to the world that we do not mean, by this association, to deviate from that loyalty which we hold it our bounden duty to observe; but animated with the love of liberty, it is no less than duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which with sorrow we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked Ministry and a corrupted Parliament), and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which purpose we do agree and associate together,—

"1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportion as shall be thought necessary," etc.

"PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY, }
Friday, June 23, 1775. }

"The bill entitled 'An Act for the Support of the Government of this Province and the Payment of the Public Debt' being read the second time and debated by paragraphs, was ordered to be transcribed for a third reading.

"A petition and memorial from the Committee of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia was presented to the House and read, setting forth that the petitioners, reflecting upon the great and imminent danger to which the liberties of America are exposed by the open and declared determination of the British Ministry to enforce certain cruel and oppressive acts of Parliament; and contemplating those mournful events which have already happened, as well as those which may happen during this important struggle,—have been induced to form and recommend a military association within this city and liberties; that, in forming such association, they have extended their views beyond a mere parade and useless show; and animated with a lively sense of the inestimable

value of the blessings of civil liberty themselves, they have endeavored to inculcate upon others the necessity of defending and supporting them by actual service, if the exigency of public affairs should require it: that under these circumstances they find various difficulties which require the aid and assistance of the honorable House.

"Reposing therefore the fullest confidence in the virtue and spirit of their Representatives, they beg leave to lay before them several particulars which seem, in a peculiar manner, to claim their attention and regard.

"Friday, June 30, 1775.

"The House met pursuant to adjournment and proceeded in the consideration of the resolves of the committees, which, being put to the question, were agreed to by the House, and follow in these words, viz:

"1. Resolved, That this House approve the association entered into by the good people of this Province for the defence of their lives, liberty, and property.

"2. Resolved, That if any invasion or landing of British troops or others shall be made in this or the adjacent Colonies during the present controversy, or any armed ships or vessels shall sail up the river Delaware in a hostile manner, and such circumstances shall render it expedient, in the judgment of the committee hereafter to be appointed, for any number of the officers and privates, men of the association, within this Colony to enter into actual service for repelling such hostile attempts, this House will provide for the pay and necessary expenses of such officers and soldiers performing such military duty while they are in such actual service.'"

Dr. Franklin to Dr. Jos. Priestly:

"PHILADELPHIA, PA., October 3, 1775.

"DEAR SIR: I am to set out to-morrow for the camp, and having but just heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to say that I am well and hearty. Tell our dear good friend Dr. Price, who sometimes has his doubts and despondences about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous, a very few Tories and Placemen excepted, who will probably very soon export themselves.

"Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker's Hill, she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking Post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data* his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and ex-

pense necessary to kill us all and conquer our whole territory. My sincere respects to and to the club of honest Whigs at. . . . Adieu.

"I am ever yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin to David Hartley, London:

"PHILADELPHIA, PA., October 3, 1775.

"SIR: I wish as ardently as you can do for peace, and should rejoice exceedingly in co-operating with you to that end. But every ship from Britain brings some intelligence of new measures that tend more and more to exasperate; and it seems to me that, until you have found by dear experience the reducing us by force impracticable, you will think of nothing fair and reasonable. We have as yet resolved only on defensive measures. If you would recall your forces and stay at home, we should meditate nothing to injure you. A little time so given for cooling on both sides would have excellent effects. But you will goad and provoke us. You despise us too much; and you are insensible of the Italian adage that 'There is no little enemy.'

"I am persuaded the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and, by your lying gazettes, may soon be made our enemies. Our respect for them will proportionally diminish; and I see clearly we are on the high road to mutual enmity, hatred, and detestation. A separation will of course be inevitable. It is a million of pities, so fair a plan as we have hitherto been engaged in, for increasing strength and empire with public fidelity, should be destroyed by the mangling hands of the few blundering Ministers. It will not be destroyed; God will protect and prosper it; you will only exclude yourselves from any share in it. We hear that more troops and ships are coming out. We know you may do us a great deal of mischief, but we are determined to bear it patiently as long as we can. But if you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. The Congress is still sitting, and will wait the result of their last petition."

Doctor Franklin to M. Dumas:

"PHILADELPHIA, December 19, 1775.

"We are threatened from England with a very powerful force, to come next year against us. We are making all the provisions in our power here to prevent that force, and we hope we shall be able to defend ourselves. But as the events of war are always uncertain, possibly, after another campaign, we may find it necessary to ask aid of some foreign

power. It gives us great pleasure to learn from you that 'all Europe wishes us the best success in the maintenance of our liberty.' But we wish to know whether any one of them, from principles of humanity, is disposed magnanimously to step in for the relief of an oppressed people; or whether if, as it seems likely to happen, we should be obliged to break off all connection with Britain and declare ourselves an independent people, there is any state or power in Europe who would be willing to enter into an alliance with us for the benefit of our commerce, which amounted before the war to near seven millions sterling per annum, and must continually increase, as our people increase most rapidly. Confiding, my dear friend, in your good-will to us and our cause, and in your sagacity and abilities for business, the committee of Congress appointed for the purpose of establishing and conducting a correspondence with our friends in Europe, of which committee I have the honor to be a member, have directed me to request of you that, as you are situated at The Hague, where ambassadors from all the courts reside, you would make use of the opportunity which that situation affords you of discovering, if possible, the disposition of the several courts with respect to such assistance or alliance, if we should apply for the one or propose for the other. As it may possibly be necessary, in particular instances, that you should, for this purpose, confer directly with some great Ministers, and show them this letter as your credential, we only recommend it to your discretion that you proceed therein with such caution as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, at present, of your being employed in such business, as thereby we imagine many inconveniences may be avoided and your means of rendering us service increased."

"Common-sense."

From Thomas Paine's "Common-sense," published in Philadelphia:

"'Tis repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this continent can long remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain doth not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot at this time compass a plan, short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is now a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and Art cannot supply her place; for as Milton wisely expresses 'Never can true reconcilment grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep.'"

Instructions of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to their Delegates in Congress.

"IN ASSEMBLY, June 8, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN: When by our instructions of last November we strictly enjoined you in behalf of this Colony to dissent from and utterly reject any proposition, should such be made, that might cause or lead to a separation from Great Britain or a change of the form of this government, our restrictions did not arise from any diffidence of your ability, prudence, or integrity, but from an earnest desire to serve the good people of Pennsylvania with fidelity in times so full of alarming dangers and perplexing difficulties. The situation of public affairs is since so greatly altered that we now think ourselves justifiable in removing the restrictions laid upon you by those instructions. The contempt with which the last petition of the honorable Congress has been treated; the late act of Parliament declaring the just resistance of the Colonists against violences actually offered to be rebellion, excluding them from the protection of the Crown, and even compelling some of them to bear arms against their countrymen; the treaties of the King of Great Britain with other princes for engaging foreign mercenaries to aid the forces of that kingdom in their hostile enterprises against America; and his answer to the petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London,—manifest such a determined and implacable resolution to effect the utter destruction of these Colonies that all hopes of reconciliation on reasonable terms are extinguished.

"Nevertheless, it is our ardent desire that a civil war, with all its attending miseries, could be ended by a secure and honorable peace.

"We therefore hereby authorize you to concur with the other Delegates in Congress in forming such further compacts between the United Colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms and states, and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety, and interests of America; reserving to the people of this Colony the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police of the same. The happiness of these Colonies has, during the whole course of this fatal controversy, been our first wish; their reconciliation with Great Britain our next. Ardently have we prayed for the accomplishment of both. But if we must renounce the one or the other, we humbly trust in the mercies of the Supreme Governor of the Universe, that we shall not stand condemned before his throne if our choice is determined by that overruling law of self-preservation which his divine wisdom has thought fit to implant in the hearts of his creatures."

*Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania Instructs Delegates
to Vote for Independence.*

"June 24, 1776, P.M.

"The Conference met.

"The committee appointed for that purpose brought in a draft of a declaration on the subject of the independence, of this Colony, of the Crown of Great Britain, which was ordered to be read by special order. The same was read a second time, and, being fully considered, it was, with the greatest unanimity of all the members, agreed to and adopted, and is in the following words, viz.:

"Whereas, George the Third, King of Great Britain, etc., in violation of the principles of the British Constitution and of the laws of justice and humanity, hath, by an accumulation of oppressions unparalleled in history, excluded the inhabitants of this with the other American Colonies, from his protection; and whereas he hath paid no regard to any of our numerous and dutiful petitions for a redress of our complicated grievances, but hath lately purchased foreign troops to assist in enslaving us, and hath excited the savages of this country to carry on a war against us, as also the negroes to imbrue their hands in the blood of their masters in a manner unpractised by civilized nations; and hath lately insulted our calamities by declaring that he will show us no mercy until he has reduced us; and whereas, the obligations of allegiance and protection (being reciprocal between a King and his subjects) are now dissolved, on the side of the Colonists, by the despotism of the said King, inasmuch that it now appears that loyalty to him is treason against the good people of this country; and whereas, not only the Parliament, but, there is reason to believe, too many of the people of Great Britain, have concurred in the aforesaid arbitrary and unjust proceedings against us; and whereas, the public virtue of this Colony (so essential to its liberty and happiness) must be endangered by a future political union with or dependence upon a crown and nation so lost to justice, patriotism, and magnanimity;—we, the deputies of the people of Pennsylvania, assembled in full Provincial Conference for forming a plan for executing the resolve of Congress of the 15th of May last for suppressing all authority in this Province derived from Great Britain, and for establishing a government upon the authority of the people only, now, in this public manner, in behalf of ourselves, and with the approbation, consent, and authority of our constituents, unanimously declare our willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, provided the forming of the government and the regulation of the internal police of this Colony be always reserved to the people of the said Colony. And we do, further, call upon the nations of Europe, and appeal to

the Great Arbiter and Governor of the empires of the world, to witness for us that this declaration did not originate in ambition or in an impatience of lawful authority, but that we were driven to it, in obedience to the first principles of nature, by the oppressions and cruelties of the aforesaid King and Parliament of Great Britain, as the only possible measure that was left us to preserve and establish our liberties, and to transmit them inviolate to posterity.'

"Ordered, That the Declaration be signed at the table and that the president deliver it to Congress."

NEW JERSEY.

The first action taken by New Jersey in opposition to the new taxes imposed by Parliament in June, 1767, on tea and other articles, was in response to a circular sent out by the ever-watchful Massachusetts Assembly. "This circular," says Mulford, "was laid before the Assembly of New Jersey by the speaker, on the 15th April, 1768; and on the following day it was referred to a committee to prepare and bring in an answer. A suitable reply was accordingly prepared and was transmitted to the Massachusetts Assembly. Soon after, the House resolved that a dutiful and loyal address should be presented to his Majesty, humbly beseeching him to consider the distressed condition of the Colonies. On the 7th May the address was agreed to." This address sets forth that "The subjects thus emigrating, brought with them, as inherent in their persons, all the rights and liberties of natural-born subjects within the parent-state; in consequence of these, a government was formed, under which they have been constantly exercised and enjoyed by the inhabitants, and repeatedly and solemnly recognized and confirmed by your royal predecessors and the legislature of Great Britain. One of these rights and liberties vested in the people of this Colony is the privilege of being exempt from any taxation but such as is imposed on them by themselves or by their representatives. And this they esteem so invaluable that they are fully persuaded no other can exist without it. Your Majesty's signal distinction is that you reign over freemen, and your peculiar glory that you reign in such a manner that your subjects, the disposers of their own property, are ready and willing, whenever your service calls upon them, with their lives and fortunes to assist your cause. . . . With such sentiments, your people observe, with the greatest anxiety and concern, that duties have been lately imposed on them by Parliament, for the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. This is a taxation upon them from which they conceive they ought to be protected by the acknowledged principles of the Constitution—that freemen cannot be taxed but by themselves or by their representatives; and that they are represented in Parliament, they not only can-

not allow, but are convinced that, from their local circumstances, they never can be."

The act of Parliament for sending criminals from the Colonies to England to be tried, awakened a spirit of universal alarm and opposition. The Assembly of New Jersey, December, 1769 (in accordance with the previous action of the House of Burgesses in Virginia), passed a resolution "That all trials for treason, or any felony or crime whatever, committed by any person residing in the Colony: ought to be in and before his Majesty's courts in the Colony; and that the seizing any person residing in the Colony, suspected of any crime committed there, and sending such person to places beyond the seas to be tried, is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects; as thereby the inestimable privilege of a trial by jury of the vicinage, as well as the liberty of producing witnesses in such trial, will be taken away."

The Colonies resorted to non-importation agreements. "New Jersey," says Mulford, "from her limited trade, was unable to give decisive support to measures of this description by direct co-operation; but her cordial approval was expressed. In October, 1769, the General Assembly resolved, by an unanimous vote, that the thanks of the House be given to the merchants and traders of this Colony, and of the Colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, for their disinterested and public-spirited conduct in withholding their importations of British merchandise until certain acts of Parliament laying restrictions on American commerce, for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America, be repealed." Meetings of the people were also held, where similar views were expressed, and the violations of the non-importation agreements, which had occurred at different places, were severely condemned.

The repeal of the Revenue Act of 1767 took place on the 12th of April, 1770. But the reservation of the tax on tea, for the avowed purpose of continuing to assert the right of Parliamentary taxation, marred the effect of the concession. The people of the Colonies were far from being satisfied, and continued their policy of non-importation as to that article, and their other measures of protest and opposition. This tax on tea, with other irritating measures, affecting particularly Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut, kept the whole continent in a state of continued irritation and excitement.

"On the 8th of February, 1774, the Assembly of New Jersey resolved that a 'Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry be appointed to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all acts and resolutions of the British Parliament, or the proceedings of administration, that may have any relation to or may affect the liberties and privileges of his Majesty's subjects in the British Colonies in America, and to keep up and maintain a correspondence with our sis-

ter-Colonies respecting these important considerations; and that they occasionally lay their proceedings before the House.' It was also agreed that the resolution of the House should be transmitted to the Assemblies of the several Colonies, and that thanks should be returned to the Assembly of Virginia for their early attention to the liberties of America."

Lower Freehold (N. J.) Resolutions.

At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the township of Lower Freehold, in the county of Monmouth, in New Jersey, on Monday, the 6th day of June, 1774, after notice given of the time, place, and occasion of the meeting,—

"Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that the cause in which the inhabitants of the town of Boston are now suffering is the common cause of the whole continent of North America; and that, unless some general spirited measures for the public safety be speedily entered into, there is just reason to fear that every Province may in turn share the same fate with them; and that therefore it is highly incumbent on them all to unite in some effectual means to obtain a repeal of the Boston Port Bill, and any other that may follow it which shall be deemed subversive of the rights and privileges of free-born Americans.

"And that it is also the opinion of this meeting that, in case it shall appear hereafter to be consistent with the general opinion of the trading towns and the commercial part of our countrymen, that an entire stoppage of importation and exportation from and to Great Britain and the West Indies until the said Port Bill and other acts be repealed, will be really conducive to the safety and preservation of North America and her liberties, they will yield a cheerful acquiescence in the measure, and earnestly recommend the same to all their brethren in this Province."

Essex County (N. J.) Resolutions.

At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Essex, in the Province of New Jersey, at Newark, in said county, on Saturday, the 11th day of June, 1774:

"This meeting taking into serious consideration some late alarming measures adopted by the British Parliament for depriving his Majesty's American subjects of their undoubted and constitutional rights and privileges, and particularly the act for blockading the port of Boston, which appears to them pregnant with the most dangerous consequences to all his Majesty's dominions in America, do unanimously resolve and agree,—

"1. That, under the enjoyment of our Constitutional privileges and immunities, we will ever cheerfully render all due obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, as well as full

faith and allegiance to his most gracious Majesty King George the Third; and to esteem a firm dependence on the mother-country essential to our political security and happiness.

"2. That the late act of Parliament, relative to Boston, which so absolutely destroys every idea of safety and confidence, appears to us big with the most dangerous and alarming consequences; especially as subversive of that very dependence which we should earnestly wish to continue, as our best safeguard and protection; and that we conceive every well-wisher to Great Britain and her Colonies is now loudly called upon to exert his utmost abilities in promoting every legal and prudential measure towards obtaining a repeal of the said act of Parliament, and all others subversive of the undoubted rights and liberties of his Majesty's American subjects.

"3. That it is our unanimous opinion that it would conduce to the restoration of the liberties of America should the Colonies enter into a joint agreement not to purchase or use any articles of British manufacture; and especially any commodities imported from the East Indies, under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by a general Congress of the said Colonies, hereafter to be appointed.

"4. That this county will most readily and cheerfully join their brethren of the other counties in this Province, in promoting such Congress of deputies to be sent from each of the Colonies, in order to form a general plan of union, so that the measures to be pursued for the important ends in view may be uniform and firm; to which plan, when concluded upon, we do agree faithfully to adhere. And do now declare ourselves ready to send a committee, to meet with those from the other counties, at such time and place as may be agreed upon, in order to elect proper persons to represent this Province in the said general Congress.

"5. That the freeholders and inhabitants of the other counties in this Province be requested speedily to convene themselves together to consider the present distressing state of our public affairs, and to correspond and consult with such other committees as may be appointed, as well as with our committee, who are hereby directed to correspond and consult with such other committee, as also with those of any other Province; and particularly to meet with the said county committees, in order to nominate and appoint deputies to represent this Province in general Congress."

Bergen County (N. J.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Bergen, in the Province of New Jersey, convened agreeable to advertisement, at the Court-house of said county, on Saturday, the 23d of June, 1774;

"This meeting being deeply affected with the calamitous condition of the inhabitants of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in consequence of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the port of Boston, and considering the alarming tendency of the act of the British Parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, do resolve,—

"1st. That they think it their greatest happiness to live under the Government of the illustrious House of Hanover; and that they will steadfastly and uniformly bear true and faithful allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, under the enjoyment of their Constitutional rights and privileges.

"2d. That we conceive it to be our indubitable privilege to be taxed only by our own consent, given by ourselves or by our representatives; and that we consider the late acts of Parliament declarative of their right to impose internal taxes on the subjects of America as manifest encroachments on our national rights and privileges as British subjects, and as inconsistent with the idea of an American Assembly or House of Representatives.

"3d. That we will heartily unite with this Colony in choosing Delegates to attend at a general Congress of the several Provinces of America, in order to consult on and determine some effectual method to be pursued for obtaining a repeal of the said acts of Parliament which appear to us evidently calculated to destroy that mutual harmony and dependence between Great Britain and her Colonies which are the basis and support of both."

Morris County (N. J.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of a respectable body of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Morris, in the Province of east New Jersey, at the Court-house in Morristown, in said county, on Monday the 27th of June, 1774, resolved,—

"2d. That it is our wish and desire, and we esteem it our greatest happiness and security, to be governed by the laws of Great Britain, and that we will always cheerfully submit to them as far as can be done consistently with the constitutional liberties and privileges of free-born Englishmen.

"3d. That the late acts of Parliament for imposing taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue in America are oppressive and arbitrary, calculated to disturb the minds and alienate the affections of the Colonies from the mother-country, are replete with ruin to both; and consequently that the authors and promoters of said acts, or of such doctrines of the right of taxing America, being in the Parliament of Great Britain, are and should be deemed enemies to our King and happy Constitution.

"4th. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is uncon-

stitutional, injurious in its principles to the general cause of American freedom, particularly oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, and that therefore the people of Boston are considered by us as suffering in the general cause of America.

"5th. That unanimity and firmness in the Colonies are the most effectual means to relieve our suffering brethren at Boston, to avert the dangers justly to be apprehended from that alarming act commonly styled the Boston Port Bill, and to secure the invaded rights and privileges of America.

"6th. That it is our opinion that an agreement between the Colonies not to purchase or use any articles imported from Great Britain or from the East Indies, under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by the general Congress hereafter to be appointed by the Colonies, would be of service in procuring a repeal of those acts."

Hunterdon County (N. J.) Resolutions.

"The freeholders and inhabitants of Hunterdon county, in the Province of New Jersey, convened by advertisement, at the house of John Ringo, in Amwell, in said county, on Friday, the 8th July, 1774, Samuel Tucker, Esq., in the chair, came to the following resolutions without a dissenting voice, viz.:

"3d. That any act of Parliament for the apprehending and carrying persons into another Colony or to Great Britain, to be tried for any crime alleged to be committed within this Colony, or subjecting them to be tried by commissioners or any court, constituted by acts of Parliament or otherwise within this Colony, in a summary way without a jury of the vicinage, is unconstitutional and subversive of the rights and liberties of the free subjects of this Colony.

"4th. That it is our indispensable duty, which we owe to our King, our country, ourselves, and our posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power to maintain, defend, and preserve our loyalty, rights, and liberties, and transmit them inviolate to the latest generations; and that it is our fixed, determined, and unalterable resolution faithfully to discharge this our bounden duty.

"5th. That it is our unanimous opinion that it would conduce to the restoration of the liberties of America should the Colonies enter into a joint agreement not to purchase or use any articles of British manufacture, nor any commodities imported from the East Indies, under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by a general Congress of delegates from all the Colonies, hereafter to be appointed.

"6th. That, as the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of American freedom, it is the opinion of this meeting that subscriptions be hereafter opened in every town in this country, and the money subscribed to be ap-

plied towards the relief of the suffering poor in said town of Boston until they may be relieved by being restored to their just rights and privileges.

Middlesex County (N. J.) Resolutions.

According to notice which had been given to the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Middlesex, New Jersey, a great number from every quarter of the county met at the Court-house in New Brunswick, on Friday, 15th day of July, 1774, at two o'clock, and chose John Moores, Esq., to the chair; but as the Court-house could not contain half the number, the meeting adjourned to the Presbyterian meeting-house, where, after some deliberation upon the dangerous situation of the public affairs in America, the meeting unanimously resolved as follows, viz.:

"1st. That the members of this meeting, their fellow-subjects in this Province, and they are persuaded the inhabitants of America in general are firm and unshaken in their allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third; that they have ever demonstrated their readiness to support his Majesty's government over them, and also to grant aids to his Majesty on any emergency, by their own representatives, to the utmost of their power.

"2d. That all other modes of taxation in the Colonies by a British Parliament, under whatever name or form attempted to be introduced, is not only arbitrary and oppressive, but has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the Colonies from the parent-country, to widen the breach already made by Ministerial influence; which it is earnestly wished may be speedily healed, and a permanent union established on a solid Constitutional foundation.

"3d. That the unexampled distresses brought on the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, particularly that of blocking up the port of Boston and depriving them of all trade and commerce, in virtue of an act or acts of Parliament, is a cruel oppression, in which all the Colonies are intimately concerned; tending, by a numerous train of consequences, to fasten on them the chains of vassalage and slavery, or lay prostrate, at the feet of an unjustly incensed Ministry, the inhabitants of this wide-extended country, who would triumph over their liberties, sport with their lives, and chain their properties at will.

"4th. We concur in the general opinion of our brethren, that the Congress of deputies from the several Colonies should present a dutiful address to his Majesty, praying for a general redress of the grievances complained of.

"5th. We are of opinion (which we submit to be considered in general Congress) that a general stop of all imports and exports of merchandise especially to Great Britain, by all the Colonies, is the only probable, if not the only pos-

sible, measure to preserve the liberties of this country, at present in such imminent danger of being annihilated."

Sussex County (N. J.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Sussex, in the Province of New Jersey, at the Court-house in Newtown, in said county,—on Saturday, the 16th of July, A.D. 1774,—

"1st. Resolved, That it is our duty to render true and faithful allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, and to support and maintain the just dependence of his Colonies upon the Crown of Great Britain under the enjoyment of our Constitutional rights and privileges.

"2d. That it is undoubtedly our right to be taxed only by our own consent, given by ourselves or our representatives; and that the late acts of Parliament for imposing taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, and the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, are oppressive, unconstitutional, and injurious in their principles to American freedom, and that the Bostonians are considered by us as suffering in the general cause of America.

"3d. That it is the opinion of this meeting that firmness and unanimity in the Colonies, and an agreement to not use any articles imported from Great Britain or the East Indies (under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by the general Congress hereafter to be appointed by the Colonies), may be the most effectual means of averting the dangers that are justly apprehended, and securing the invaded rights and privileges of America."

Monmouth County (N. J.) Resolutions.

"On Tuesday, July 19, 1774, a majority of the committees from the several townships in the county of Monmouth, of the Colony of New Jersey, met according to appointment at the Court-house at Freehold, in said county; and appearing to have been regularly chosen and constituted by their respective townships, they unanimously agreed upon the propriety and expediency of instructing a committee to represent the whole county at the approaching Provincial convention to be held at the city of New Brunswick, for the necessary purpose of constituting a delegation from the Province to the general Congress of the Colonies, and for all such other important purposes as shall hereafter be found necessary.

"They at the same time also recorded the following resolutions, determinations, and opinions, which they wish to be transmitted to posterity as an ample testimony of their loyalty to his British Majesty, of their firm attachment to the principles of the glorious Revolution, and their firm and un-

alterable purpose by every lawful means in their power to maintain and defend themselves in the possession and enjoyment of those inestimable civil and religious privileges which their fathers, at the expense of so much blood and treasure, have established and handed down to them."

New Jersey Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the committees of the several counties in the Province of New Jersey, at New Brunswick, on Thursday the 21st of July, 1774, and continued to the Saturday following, (present, seventy-two members), Stephen Crane, Esq., in the chair;

"The committee, taking into their serious consideration the dangerous and destructive nature of sundry acts of the British Parliament with respect to the fundamental liberties of the American Colonies, conceive it their indispensable duty to bear their open testimony against them, and to concur with the other Colonies in prosecuting all legal and necessary measures for obtaining their speedy repeal.

"2d. We think ourselves warranted, from the principles of our excellent Constitution, to affirm that the claim of the British Parliament (in which we neither are nor can be represented), to make laws which shall be binding on the King's American subjects 'in all cases whatsoever,' and particularly for imposing taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, is unconstitutional and oppressive; and which we think ourselves bound in duty to ourselves and our posterity by all Constitutional means in our power to oppose.

"3d. We think the several late acts of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston; invading the Charter rights of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay; and subjecting supposed offenders to be sent for trial to other Colonies or to Great Britain; the sending over an armed force to carry the same into effect, and thereby reducing many thousands of innocent loyal inhabitants to poverty and distress,—are not only subversive of the undoubted rights of his Majesty's American subjects, but also repugnant to the common principles of humanity and justice. These proceedings, so violent in themselves and so truly alarming to the other Colonies (many of which are equally exposed to Ministerial vengeance), render it the indispensable duty of all heartily to unite in the most proper measures to procure redress for their oppressed countrymen now suffering in a common cause, and for the re-establishment of the Constitutional rights of America on a solid and permanent foundation.

"5th. That we do earnestly recommend a general non-importation and a non-consumption agreement to be entered into at such time and regulated in such manner as to the Congress shall appear the most advisable.

*Letter from the Committee of Correspondence of New Jersey
to the Committee of Correspondence of Boston.*

“ELIZABETHTOWN, NEW JERSEY, }
“July 28, 1774. }

“GENTLEMEN: The arbitrary and cruel oppression under which your metropolis now labours from the suspension of commerce must inevitably reduce multitudes to inexpressible difficulty and distress. Suffering in a glorious and common cause, sympathy and resentment with peculiar energy fill the breasts of your anxious countrymen. As the King of Kings and the Ruler of Princes seems, in a remarkable manner, to be inspiring these Colonies with a spirit of union, to confound the counsels of your unrighteous oppressors, and with a spirit of humanity and benevolence towards an innocent and oppressed people,—so we trust He will also inspire your town with patience, resignation, and fortitude until this great calamity shall be overpast. We have the pleasure to acquaint you that on the 21st instant, at the City of New Brunswick, the Province of New Jersey with singular unanimity, seventy-two Delegates from the several counties and a majority of the House of Representatives present and approving, entered into similar resolutions with the other Colonies, elected five deputies for the proposed Congress, and the county committees then agreed to promote collections in their respective counties for the relief of such of the unhappy inhabitants of the town of Boston as may now be reduced to extremity and want. To accomplish this purpose with the more acceptance to yourselves, we, the Committee of Correspondence for the eastern division, request that by the return of the post you will be pleased to advise us in what way we can best answer your present necessities; whether cash remitted or what articles of provision, or other necessaries we can furnish from hence would be most agreeable; and which we hope we shall be able to forward to Boston very soon after your advice shall be received.

“We doubt not gentlemen are devising every possible method for the employment of those who by their deplorable situation are cut off from all former means of subsistence.

“We are, gentlemen, your very humble servants,
By order, WILLIAM P. SMITH,
Chairman.”

“To the Honorable Frederick Smith, Esq., Chief Justice of New Jersey :

“The address of the Grand Jury for the body of the county of Essex, at a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, held at Newark, in the said County, the first Tuesday in November, 1774,

"May it please your Honour:

"As your Honour's charge from the Bench was not so properly directed to us with respect to our duty as the Grand Inquest of this county, as matter of instruction for the regulation of our own personal conduct amidst the present commotions of the Continent, we think ourselves obliged from the singularity of the charge and its paternal tenderness for our welfare to express our gratitude for your Honour's friendly admonitions (which doubtless derived great solemnity from the place in which they were delivered), and at the same time to inform you how far we have the misfortune to differ from you in sentiment, both as to the origin and tendency of the present uneasiness so generally diffused through all the Colonies. If we rightly understood a particular part of your Honour's charge, you were pleased to tell us that while we were employed in guarding against 'imaginary tyranny three thousand miles distant' we ought not to expose ourselves to a 'real tyranny at our own doors.' As we neither know, sir, nor are under the least apprehension of any tyranny at our own doors, unless it should make its way hither from the distance you mention, and then we hope that all those whom the Constitution has entrusted with the guardianship of our liberties will rather strive to obstruct than accelerate its progress, we are utterly at a loss for the idea thereby intended to be communicated. But, respecting the tyranny at the distance of three thousand miles, which your Honour is pleased to represent as imaginary, we have the unhappiness to differ widely from you in opinion. The effect, sir, of that tyranny is too severely felt to have it thought altogether visionary. We cannot think, sir, that taxes imposed upon us by our fellow-subjects in a Legislature in which we are not represented, is an imaginary, but that it is a real and actual, tyranny, and of which no Nation whatsoever can furnish a single instance. We cannot think, sir, that depriving us of the inestimable right of trial by jury, seizing our persons and carrying us for trial to Great Britain, is a tyranny merely imaginary. Nor can we think with your Honour that destroying Charters and changing our forms of government is a tyranny altogether ideal. That an act passed to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment such as may be guilty even of murder, is a bare idea. That the establishment of French laws and Popish religion in Canada the better to facilitate the arbitrary schemes of the British Ministry, by making the Canadians instruments in the hands of power to reduce us to slavery, has no other than a mental existence. In a word, sir, we cannot persuade ourselves that the fleet now blocking up the Port of Boston, consisting of ships built of real English oak and solid iron, and armed with cannon of ponderous metal with actual

powder and ball; nor the army lodged in the town of Boston and the fortifications thrown about it (substantial and formidable realities), are all creatures of the imagination. These, sir, are but a few of the numerous grievances under which America now groans. These are some of the effects of that deliberate plan of tyranny concerted at 'three thousand miles' distance,' and which to your Honour appears only like the 'baseless fabric of a vision.' To procure redress of these grievances which to others assume the form of odious and horrid realities, the Continent, as we learn, has very naturally been thrown into great commotions; and as far as this county, in particular, has taken part in the alarm, we have the happiness to represent to your Honour that in the prosecution of measures for preserving American liberties, and obtaining the removal of oppressions, the people have acted in all their popular assemblies (which it is the right of Englishmen to convene whenever they please) with the spirit, temper, and prudence becoming freemen and loyal subjects.

"To trespass no longer on your Honour's patience, we conclude with our hearty wishes, that while the great cause of liberty is warmly and at the same time so peaceably vindicated, by all honest Americans as essentially necessary to public happiness, no bias of self-interest, no fawning servility towards those in power, no hopes of future preferment, will induce any man to damp his laudable and patriotic ardour, nor lend his helping hand to the unnatural and diabolical work of riveting the chains which are forging for us by that same actual tyranny at the distance of three thousand miles."

Newark (New Jersey) Committee.

"Pursuant to the eleventh article of the Association entered into by the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia, at a meeting of the Freeholders of the township of Newark, in the county of Essex, at the Court-house on Wednesday, the 7th of December, 1774,

"Joseph Briggs, Junr., Esq., in the chair:

"At a meeting of a majority of the above committee held in Newark January 5, 1775, Caleb Camp, chairman; Robert Johnston, clerk,—

"Voted, That the thanks of this committee be presented to the Honorable Delegates for this Province, members of the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia in September last, for the faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in them.

"*To the Delegates for New Jersey in the Continental Congress.*

"GENTLEMEN: While we feel our inviolable attachment to the person of the King and the present reigning family, it

is with the highest esteem of and gratitude to you, the particular Delegates for this Province (in conjunction with the whole of that venerable body), that we view the many wise and prudent measures by you adopted to support and hand down to posterity inviolate those valuable and important privileges, both civil and sacred, so highly prized by our ancestors.

"And 'tis with the greatest resentment that we so often behold your virtuous and patriotic endeavors wickedly traduced and made the subject of ridicule and slander by those sons of Belial whose attachedness to their master will prompt them to commit violence to their own judgments and even feed their wickedness with the very blood of their country. But you, sirs, may be assured that such authors (when known as their criminal production) shall ever be treated by us with the utmost contempt as they merit.

"And as a further mark of acquiescence in the Association, and demonstration of our sincerity, we think it our duty for ourselves, and we will with the utmost of our influence recommend to our constituents as the only probably means of securing our liberties, that the said Association be punctually adhered to and strictly put in execution.

"That the blessings of Heaven may succeed all our endeavors to vanquish our enemies and effectually secure the liberties of British America, and finally establish a happy Constitutional and lasting union between Great Britain and her Colonies, is the sincere wish of, gentlemen, your much-obliged and very humble servants.

"By order of the Committee.

"CALEB CAMP, *Chairman.*

"NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLY, {
"January 11, 1775. }

"Mr. Crane and Mr. Kensey also laid before the House the proceedings of the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia in September last, which were read. On the question whether the House approved of the said proceedings, it passed in the affirmative.

"Resolved, That this house do unanimously approve of the proceedings of the Congress, such as are of the people called Quakers, excepting only to such parts as seem to wear an appearance or may have a tendency to force (if any such there be) as inconsistent with their religious principles.

"Resolved unanimously, That James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, John de Hart, and Richard Smith, Esqrs., or any three of them, be and they are hereby appointed to attend the Continental Congress of the Colonies, intended to be held at the city of Philadelphia in May next, or at any other time and place; and that they report their proceedings to the next session of the general Assembly: instructing the said Delegates to propose and agree to every

reasonable and Constitutional measure for the accommodation of the unhappy differences at present subsisting between our mother-country and the Colonies, which the House most ardently wish for."

Woodbridge (N. J.) Committee.

"At a general meeting of the inhabitants of the township of Woodbridge, in the county of Middlesex, in New Jersey, on Saturday the 7th day of January, 1775,

"Captain Reuben Potter, Moderator,

"The Association entered into and recommended by the late general Congress at Philadelphia, being read and approved of, it was,—

"1st. Resolved unanimously, That the said Association be adopted by this town and carried into execution.'"

Burlington (N. J.) Committee.

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the city and county of Burlington, in New Jersey, qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature held at the Court-house on Tuesday, the 14th of February, 1775,

"Peter Fallman, Esq., chairman,

"The Association entered into by the general American Congress, convened at Philadelphia on the 5th of September last, was read and approved:

"Resolved, That, in pursuance with the eleventh article of the said Association, a Committee of Observation for the city and county be now appointed for the purposes in that article mentioned.'"

Newark (N. J.) Committee.

"At a meeting of the Committee of Observation for the township of Newark, April 24, 1775, present 18 members,

"Mr. Caleb Camp, chairman,

"The chairman having opened the business of the meeting, and related the purport of the expresses lately received from Boston, the following motions were made and agreed to unanimously:

"That the members of this committee are willing, at this alarming crisis, to risk their lives and fortunes in support of American liberty; and that it be recommended to our constituents to give all necessary support in their power to our brethren in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in the present alarming exigency.

"That it be also recommended to the captains of the militia in the township to muster and exercise their respective companies at least once every week, and carefully to exact that each man be provided with arms and ammunition as the militia law directs.

“ ‘That it be requested of all heads of families and masters of apprentices, to encourage all of proper age under their direction to learn the military exercise, and to allow them such portions of time as may be necessary to make them perfect therein.’

“ROBERT JOHNSTON, *Clerk.*”

Woodbridge (N. J.) Committee to the Several Committees of Massachusetts.

“IN COMMITTEE, WOODBRIDGE, N. J. }
“May, 1, 1775. }

“GENTLEMEN: We have received repeated intelligence by expresses, of your engaging and defeating the Regulars under the command of General Gage, which is universally credited in this Colony; and we have the pleasure of assuring you your conduct and bravery on that occasion is greatly applauded and admired by all ranks of men. In consequence of the intelligence, a Provincial convention will be held as soon as the members can possibly be convened. In the mean time the inhabitants are putting themselves in the best posture of defence, being determined to stand or fall with the liberties of America. We have for some time past feared the New Yorkers would desert American liberty, but are now fully convinced that they are determined to support the grand cause.

“We also learn, with pleasure, that the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and of the other southern Provinces are firm, unanimous, and spirited.

“We have only to add that you have our unfeigned and hearty thanks for the noble stand you have made, and our sincere and fervent prayers for a speedy deliverance from all your calamities.

“We are, very respectfully, gentlemen, your ob’t humble serv’ts.

“By order of the committee.

“MOSES BLOOMFIELD, *Chairman.*”

Town Meeting, Upper Freehold, Monmouth County.

“NEW JERSEY, May 4, 1775.

“This day, agreeable to previous notice, a very considerable number of the principal inhabitants of this township met at Imlay’s Town,

“John Lawrence, Esq., in the chair,

“When the following resolves were unanimously agreed to:

“Resolved, That it is our first wish to live in union with Great Britain, agreeable to the principles of the Constitution; that we consider the unnatural civil war which we are about to be forced into with anxiety and distress: but that we are

determined to oppose the novel claim of the Parliament of Great Britain to raise a revenue in America, and risk every possible consequence rather than submit to it.”

Somerset County (N. J.) Committee.

“Pursuant to notice given by the chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for the county of Somerset, in New Jersey, the freeholders of the county met at the Courthouse the 11th of May, 1775,

“Hendrick Fisher, Esq., chairman;

“Frederick Frelinghuysen, clerk.

“Resolved, That the several steps taken by the British Ministry to enslave the American Colonies, and especially the late alarming hostilities commenced by the troops under General Gage against the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, loudly call on the people of this Province to determine what part they will act in this situation of affairs; and that we therefore readily consent to elect deputies for a Provincial Congress to meet at Trenton on Tuesday the 23d instant, agreeable to the advice and direction of the provincial Committee of Correspondence.”

“NEW JERSEY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, }
“Saturday, June 22, 1776. }

“The Congress proceeded to the election of Delegates to represent this Colony in the Continental Congress, when Richard Stockton, Abraham Clark, John Hart, Francis Hopkinson, Esquires, and Dr. John Witherspoon, were elected by ballot to serve for one year unless a new appointment be made before that time.

“Resolved, That the following instructions be given to the Delegates so elected, viz.: To Richard Stockton, Abraham Clark, John Hart, Francis Hopkinson, Esquires, and the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, Delegates appointed to represent the Colony of New Jersey in the Continental Congress,

“The Congress empower and direct you, in the name of the Colony to join with the Delegates of the other Colonies in Continental Congress in the most rigorous measures for supporting the just rights and liberties of America. And, if you shall judge it necessary and expedient for this purpose, we empower you to join with them in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain, entering into a confederacy for union and common defence, making treaties with foreign nations for commerce and assistance, and to take such other measures as to them and you may appear necessary for these great ends, promising to support them with the whole force of this Province; always observing that, whatever plan of confederacy you enter into, the regulating the internal police of this Province is to be reserved to the Colony Legislature.”

DELAWARE.

Delaware, though settled many years in advance of Pennsylvania, was annexed to the larger Colony shortly after the organization of the latter. But as early as 1702 they were finally separated, except that both Colonies remained under the proprietary governors, the descendants of William Penn, until the Revolution. Prior to that period the Colony had usually been styled "The three lower counties, New Castle, Kent and Sussex on the Delaware;" but when it threw off the Colonial government, its people abandoned the clumsy practice of naming all the counties every time allusion was made to it, and the single word Delaware was adopted as expressive of the idea of one people under one government. No Colony was more prompt or determined in resistance of British aggression upon the rights of British America than Delaware. In 1769, her Assembly adopted the Virginia resolves against the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies; and as the following manifestations of popular sentiment will show, she bore her full share in the burthens and sacrifices of the Revolution:

Delaware Convention.

"August 1, 1774.

"The Representatives of the freemen of the Government of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware met at New Castle, in pursuance of circular-letters from the Speaker of the House, who was requested to write and forward the same to the several members of the Assembly, by the Committees of Correspondence for the several counties aforesaid, chosen and appointed for that among other purposes by the freeholders and freemen of the said counties respectively.

"Present: For the county of New Castle, Thomas McKean, John Evans, John McKinly, James Latimer, George Read, Alexander Porter; for the county of Kent, Charles Ridgely, William Killen, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas Collins; for the county of Sussex, Thomas Robinson, Levin Cropper, Boaz Manlove, John Wiltbank, Stephen Townsend;—who immediately proceed to the choice of a chairman, and Cæsar Rodney, Esquire, was chosen chairman, *nemine contradicente*, and David Thompson, Esquire, clerk. The resolves of the several committees appointed by the inhabitants of these counties respectively were read, and follow in these words, to wit:

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of New Castle on Delaware, at New Castle, the 29th of June, 1774,

"Thomas McKean, Esquire, chairman.

"Resolved, 1. That the act of Parliament for shutting up

the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British Colonies, and that therefore we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America.

"2. That a Congress of deputies from the several Colonies in North America is the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress for American grievances, securing our rights and liberties, and re-establishing peace and harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

"3. That a respectable committee be immediately appointed for the county of New Castle, to correspond with the sister Colonies and with the other counties in this Government, in order that all my unite in promoting and endeavoring to obtain the great and valuable end mentioned in the foregoing resolution."

Kent County Resolutions.

The freeholders and other inhabitants of Kent county on Delaware, now assembled at the Court-house in the town of Dover, this 20th day of July, *anno domini* 1774, taking into their most serious consideration sundry acts of the British Parliament in which their power and right to impose duties and taxes on his Majesty's subjects in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, are declared, attempted to be exercised, and in various ways enforced and carried into execution; more especially the act depriving the great and lately flourishing town of Boston of all trade whatsoever, by shutting up their port and harbor with a formidable fleet and army,—

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 1. That we do acknowledge, recognize, and most expressly declare his Majesty King George the Third to be lawful and rightful King of Great Britain and all other his dominions and countries; and that it is the indispensable duty of the people of this county, as being part of his Majesty's dominions, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty, and him to defend to the utmost of their power against all attempts upon his person, Crown, or dignity.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 2. That the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British Colonies, and that therefore we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 3. That a congress of deputies from the several Colonies in North America is the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of American grievances, securing our rights and liberties, and re-establishing har-

mony between Great Britain and these Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 4. That a respectable committee be immediately appointed for the county of Kent, to correspond with the committees of the sister-Colonies and the other counties in the Government, in order that all may unite in promoting and endeavoring to obtain the great and valuable end mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 6. That the committee now to be appointed 'consist of thirteen persons—to wit: Charles Ridgely, William Killen, Cæsar Rodney, John Haslet, John Clarke, Thomas Collins, Esquires, Jacob Stout, Esquire, James Sykes, Esquire, James Wells, Thomas Rodney, Richard Bassett, Esquire, Richard Lockwood, Esquire, and Zadock Crapper, Esquire,—and that seven of them may act.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 7. That the said committee immediately set on foot a subscription for the relief of such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as may be deprived of the means of sustenance by the act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill; the money arising from such subscription to be laid out as the committee shall think will best answer the ends proposed.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 8. That the inhabitants of this county do agree with their brethren of New Castle County, in adopting and carrying into execution all and singular such peaceable and Constitutional measures as shall be agreed on by a majority of the Colonies by their deputies at the intended Congress, and will have no trade, commerce, or dealings whatsoever with that Province, city, or town on this continent (if any such should be), or with any individual therein, who shall refuse to adopt the same, until the before-mentioned act of Parliament, and two bills respecting the Province of Massachusetts Bay depending in Parliament (if passed into acts), are repealed.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, 9. That this committee embrace this public opportunity to testify their gratitude and most cordial thanks to the patrons and friends of liberty in Great Britain, for their patriotic efforts to prevent the present calamity of America."

Sussex County (Del.) Resolutions.

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Sussex on Delaware, at the Court-house in Lewistown, on Saturday, the 23d of July, 1774—

"This assembly, taking into their very serious consideration the present very critical situation of America; of the exclusive right of the Colonists of imposing taxes upon themselves; of the invasion of that right by the statute of Sixth George the Third, chapter twelve, by which statute and sundry others the Parliament of Great Britain have

assumed the power of making laws to bind the Colonies without their consent either by themselves or by their representatives; a recent instance of which is exhibited in a late statute commonly called the Boston Port Bill: therefore, in order to collect the voice and sentiments of this assembly, the following articles were proposed, voted, and agreed to:

“1. That the inhabitants of this county owe and will pay due allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third.

“2. That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be taxed by their own consent, or by representatives chosen by themselves only; and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the internal police of North America is unconstitutional and an invasion of our just rights and privileges.

“3. That the late act of Parliament inflicting pains and penalties on the town of Boston by blocking up their harbor is a precedent justly alarming to the British Colonies in America, and utterly inconsistent with and subversive of, their Constitutional rights and liberties.

“4. That a Congress of deputies from the several Colonies in North America is the most probable and proper mode of obtaining redress of American grievances, securing our rights and liberties, and re-establishing peace and harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

“5. That the inhabitants of this county will adopt and carry into execution all and singular such peaceable and Constitutional measures as shall be agreed on by a majority of the Colonies by their deputies at the intended Congress.

“7. That it is our opinion that it would conduce to the restoration of the liberties of America should the Colonies enter into joint agreement not to import any article of British manufacture or carry on any branch of trade unless under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by the Congress.

“8. That the committee hereinafter appointed are hereby desired to receive the subscriptions of such charitable persons in this county who shall incline to contribute towards the distressed and suffering inhabitants of the town of Boston; and that the money raised by such subscriptions be disposed of by the said committee for the use of the said inhabitants, whom we consider as suffering in the common cause of America.’

Delaware Convention.

Aug. 2, 1774.

At a meeting of the representatives of the freemen of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware on the 2d of August, 1774, A.M., it was unanimously resolved to instruct the deputies then ap-

pointed in behalf of the people of the said Government to attend the general Congress, that they do endeavor to prevail with the deputies of the other Colonies and Provinces at the general Congress, to adopt the following or similar resolutions:

"1. In the first place, that we most solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that we do and will bear faith and true allegiance to his most sacred Majesty King George the Third, our most gracious sovereign and rightful liege and lord; that we will upon true revolution principles, and to the utmost of our power, support and defend the Protestant succession as established in the illustrious House of Hanover; and it is our most earnest desire that the connection which subsists between Great Britain and her Colonies, whereby they are made one people, may continue to the latest period of time.

"2. That the subjects of his Majesty in the British-American Colonies have had, and of right ought to have and enjoy, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of free and natural born subjects within any of his Majesty's dominions, as full and amply as if they and every one of them were born within the realm of England; that they have a property in their own estates, and are to be taxed by their own consent only, given in person, or by their Representatives, and not to be disseized of their liberties and free customs, sentenced or condemned, but by lawful judgment of their peers.

"3. That the only Representatives of the freemen in the several Colonies are persons they elect to serve in the General Assembly thereof, and that it is the just right and privilege of the said freemen to be governed by laws made by their General Assembly, in the article of taxation, and internal police.

"4. That all trials for treason, misprison of treason, or for any felony or crime whatsoever, committed or done in the said Colonies ought of right to be had and conducted in his Majesty's courts held within the same, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding; and that the seizing any person or persons suspected of any crime whatsoever, committed in them, and sending such person or persons to places beyond the seas to be tried, is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from the vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses on such trials, will be taken away from the party accused.

"5. That all acts and proceedings of the British Parliament for prohibiting and restraining American manufactures, imposing taxes on the British Colonies, extending the powers of Custom House officers and Admiralty courts here, beyond their ancient limits, and seizing and sending persons sus-

pected of committing treason or misprision of treason in these Colonies, to England for trial, are unwarrantable assumptions of power, unconstitutional, and destructive of British liberty.

"6. That the successive acts of Parliament made in the last session, for inflicting pains and penalties on the town of Boston, by shutting up their port and blocking up their harbor ; for altering the administration of justice in certain criminal cases within the Province of Massachusetts Bay ; and for new modelling of the Constitution of that Province, established by royal Charter, are in the highest degree arbitrary in their principles, unparalleled in their rigor, oppressive in their operation, and subversive of every idea of justice and freedom.

"7. That it is the indispensable duty of all the Colonies not only to alleviate the unexampled distresses of our brethren of Massachusetts Bay, who are suffering in the common cause of America, but to assist them by all lawful means in removing their grievances, and for re-establishing their constitutional rights, as well as those of America, on a solid and permanent foundation.

* * * * *

"CÆSAR RODNEY, *Chairman.*"

August 2, P.M.

"The convention met according to adjournment.

"And several letters from the respective Committees of Correspondence of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the Dominion of Virginia, the Colonies of Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Maryland being read, and the convention taking the same into consideration, together with the proceedings of the freemen of the counties aforesaid, unanimously entered into the following resolutions, to wit:

"We, the representatives aforesaid, by virtue of the power delegated to us as aforesaid, taking into our most serious consideration the several acts of the British Parliament for restraining manufactures in his Majesty's Plantations and Colonies in North America; for taking away the property of the Colonists without their participation or consent; for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of the excise into the customs here; for the making all revenue causes triable without jury, and under the decision of a single dependent judge, for the trial in England of persons accused of capital crimes committed in the Colonies; for shutting up the port of Boston; for new modelling the Government of Massachusetts Bay; and the operation of the same on the property, liberty, and lives of the Colonists,—and also considering that the most eligible mode of determining upon the premises, and of endeavoring to procure relief and redress of our grievances, would have been by us assembled in a legislative capacity; but as the House had

adjourned to the 30th day of September next, and it is not to be expected his Honor the Governor would call us by writs of summons on this occasion, having refused to do the like in his other Province of Pennsylvania—the next and most proper method of answering the expectations and desires of our constituents, and of contributing our aid to the general cause of America, is to appoint commissioners or deputies on behalf of the people of this Government to meet and act with those appointed by the other Provinces in general Congress. And we do therefore unanimously nominate and appoint Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read, Esqrs., or any two of them, deputies on the part and behalf of this Government in a general Continental Congress proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia on the first Monday in September next, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, then and there to consult and advise with the deputies from the other Colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures as may be judged most expedient for the Colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances.’

“Signed by order of the convention,

“CÆSAR RODNEY, *Chairman.*”

New Castle County (Del.) Committee.

“December 5, 1774.

“The committee chosen in the several hundreds of this county on the 28th of last month, in pursuance of notice for that purpose given, this day assembled at the Court-house in the town of New Castle, and unanimously chose

“John McKinly, Esq., chairman ;

“David Thompson, clerk.

“On motion, by order of the association entered into by the Continental Congress at the city of Philadelphia on the fifth day of September last, was read, and the committee taking the same into consideration, Resolved, That this committee highly approve the said association, and earnestly recommend to their constituents a strict and due observance thereof.”

“DELAWARE ASSEMBLY, }
Monday, March 13, 1775. }

“The House met at New Castle pursuant to their adjournment (on the 26th of October last), and adjourned till tomorrow morning ten o’clock.”

“Tuesday, March 14, 1775.

“Messrs. George Read, Thomas McKean, and John Clarke, members of this House, who were absent at the beginning of this session, now appeared in the house, took and subscribed to the usual qualifications, and took their seats accordingly.

“Mr. McKean informed the house that the late representatives of the freemen of this government met in convention at New Castle on the first and second days of August last, and among other things nominated and appointed the Honorable Cæsar Rodney, Esq., George Read, Esq., and himself, or any two of them, deputies or delegates on the part and in behalf of this government, in a General Continental Congress, then proposed to be held at the City of Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September following, or at any other time or place that might be generally agreed on, then and there to consult and advise with the deputies from the other Colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures as might be judged most expedient for the Colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances; that the proceedings of which Convention being delivered in at the table, the same were by order read. He then proceeded to inform the house that they, the said Cæsar Rodney, George Read, and himself, repaired to the City of Philadelphia according to appointment, and that the Congress had agreed to the several particulars contained in a printed pamphlet entitled ‘The Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress held at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774,’ and certified to be a genuine and exact copy of the original by Charles Thompson, their secretary, which he delivered in at the table for the perusal and consideration of the house.

“Ordered, That the same be read.

“And the same was done accordingly.

“Resolved, That the same be detained under consideration till to-morrow morning.

“Then the house adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o’clock.”

“Wednesday, March 15, A.M.

“The house resumed the consideration of the proceedings of the late convention and of the Continental Congress, and after due deliberation,

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this house do approve of the conduct of the late representatives of this government in their said convention, and of their appointment of the said Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read, as deputies on the part and in behalf of this government.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this house do approve of the proceedings of the late Congress held at the city of Philadelphia, and of the conduct of the gentlemen appointed deputies to attend the same on the part of this government.

“On motion of Mr. Ridgely, that a committee be appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to prohibit the importation of slaves into this government,

"Ordered, That Messrs. Ridgely, Read, and Clewes be a committee for that purpose.

"On motion, Ordered, That Messrs. Ridgely, Clewes, and Clark be a committee to wait upon his Honor, the Governor, with the bill to prohibit the importation of slaves into this government, to which his Honor cannot give his assent."

"DELAWARE ASSEMBLY.

"In the House of Representatives for the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware, at New Castle, Friday, June 14, 1776, A.M.

"Mr. McKean delivered in at the chair a certified copy of a resolution of Congress of the 15th of May last, which was by order read, and is in the words following, to wit:

"IN CONGRESS, May 15, 1776.

"Whereas, His Britannick Majesty, in connection with the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, has by a late Act of Parliament excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his Crown; and whereas, no answer whatever to the humble petitions of the Colonies for redress of grievances and reconciliation with Great Britain has been or is likely to be given, but the whole force of that kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these Colonies; and whereas, it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience for the people of these Colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the Crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the power of government exerted under the authority of the people of the Colonies for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile and cruel depredations of their enemies: Therefore, Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the united Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.

"Extract from the minutes.

"CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*"

"By special order, the same was read a second time and, on motion,

"Resolved unanimously, That this house do approve of the said resolution of Congress."

"Saturday, June 15, P.M.

"Whereas, It is become absolutely necessary for the safety, protection, and happiness of the good people of this Colony forthwith to establish some authority adequate to the exigencies of their affairs, until a new government can be formed; and whereas, the representatives of the people in this Assembly met, alone can and ought at this time to establish such temporary authority:

"Resolved unanimously, That all persons holding any office, civil or military, in this Colony, on the 13th day of June instant, may and shall continue to execute the same in the name of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware, as they used legally to exercise in the name of the King, until a new government shall be formed, agreeable to the resolution of Congress of the 13th of May last.

"Extract from the minutes.

"JAMES BOOTH, *Clerk of Assembly.*"

The instructions of the Delaware Assembly to their delegates in the Continental Congress, authorizing them to vote for independence, seem to be lost; but there can be no doubt of the fact. The delegates voted for and signed the Declaration on the 4th of July; and a letter of John Adams, of June 14, 1876, to Samuel Chase, contains this statement:

"McKean has returned from the 'Lower Counties' [a title by which Delaware was known] with full powers. Their instructions are in the same words with the new ones to the Delegates of Pennsylvania."

MARYLAND.

The Colony of Maryland, after the disposal of the Stamp Act, was for some years involved in local controversies, which absorbed the attention of the people, to the exclusion of those which were soon to involve her and her sisters in a war with the mother-country. She did not fail, however, to join them in protesting against the tax imposed by Parliament, in 1766, on tea, and other articles.

At their session in 1768, says McMahon, "the transactions of this house, at this session, in opposition to the new system of taxation, were characterized by the same unanimity which marked the proceedings of the Assembly in resistance to the Stamp Act; and their memorials in vindication of their liberties are at once firm and temperate, fearless and dignified. Their resolves assert, as the exclusive right of the Assembly, the power to impose taxes and to regulate the internal polity of the Colony; and denounce as unconstitutional all taxes or impositions proceeding from any other authority. Their petition to the King may safely challenge a comparison with any similar paper of that period, as an

eloquent and affecting appeal to the Crown." The non-importation agreements having been effectual in bringing about the repeal of the Stamp Act, "the proposition to revive it at this period," says McMahon, "originated with one of the political clubs of Boston, and, as early as October, 1767, it received the sanction of a public meeting in that city, over which the distinguished James Otis presided as moderator. For reasons for which it is not necessary to detail, it did not then enlist the concurrence of the other cities, and was soon abandoned by the Bostonians themselves. But if then premature, it was now the last peaceable resort. Remonstrances had failed, and petitions were called factious. The proposition was therefore revived in April, 1768; and letters were then addressed by several merchants of Boston and New York to the merchants of Philadelphia, soliciting their concurrence in its adoption. By the latter it was declined as still premature, but the design was not therefore abandoned. On the 1st of August, 1768, a non-importation association was formed in Boston, which was followed in the course of that month by similar associations in New York and Connecticut. The measure was not, however, adopted until the ensuing session of Parliament had dispelled all hopes of relief from the justice of England. Abandoning their scruples upon the results of that session, the merchants of Philadelphia acceded to the association in April, 1769; and their accession was immediately followed by that of Maryland and Virginia.

"In Maryland there had been previously several county associations of this description; but it was now deemed necessary to give them a more imposing character and effective operation. At the solicitation of many gentlemen of the different counties, a circular was therefore addressed, on the 9th of May, 1769, by Messrs. Dick and Stewart, McCubbin, Wallace, and W. Stewart, merchants of Annapolis, to the people of the several counties, inviting a general meeting of the merchants and others of that place, "for the purpose of consulting on the most effectual means of promoting frugality, and lessening the future importation of goods from Great Britain." The meeting was accordingly held on the 20th June, 1769, and was very fully attended. A non-importation association was then established by that meeting, for the whole Province, which was similar in its general character and objects to those of the other Colonies."

Chestertown, Kent. Co. (Md.), Resolutions.

"May 18, 1774.

"It must be universally allowed that the essential circumstance which constitutes the political happiness of a free people consists in their being governed by laws of their own making, or to which their consent is given by delegates of

their own choice and nomination. This maxim, founded on the genius of the British Constitution,—the most perfect under Heaven,—cannot be supposed partial or confined, but must be as extensively diffusive in its benign operations as are the regions subordinate to, and claiming protection under, that constitution.

“The act of Parliament, therefore, subjecting the British Colonies in America to the payment of a duty on tea for the purpose of raising a revenue being passed without their consent, and calculated to enslave them, cannot but be deemed unconstitutional and oppressive; from whence it clearly follows, that it highly behooves the Americans, as loyal and free-born subjects of Great Britain, to take every prudent and justifiable measure in order to evade its baneful effects, thus to baffle the designs of a corrupt and despotic Ministry. Our brethren of the northern Colonies have already declared their opposition to this act; and as it equally affects the good people of this loyal Province of Maryland, a number of respectable gentlemen, friends to liberty, met at a public house in Chestertown, on Friday, the 13th of May, 1774, when a chairman was chosen, a committee appointed, and it was agreed upon to have a general meeting of the inhabitants of the county on Wednesday, the 18th of the same month, to declare their sentiments respecting the importation of tea while subject to a duty. A numerous and very respectable meeting was accordingly held, when the committee was enlarged and the following resolutions were repeatedly read and unanimously agreed to, viz.:

“1st. Resolved, That we acknowledge his Majesty George the Third King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, to be our rightful and lawful sovereign, to whom we owe and promise all dutiful allegiance and submission.

“2d. Resolved, That no duties or taxes can constitutionally be imposed on us but by our own consent, given personally or by our representatives.

“3d. Resolved, That the act of the British Parliament, of the 7th of George the Third (chapter 46), subjecting the Colonies to the payment of a duty on tea, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, is unconstitutional, oppressive, and calculated to enslave the Americans.

“4th. Resolved, therefore, That whoever shall import, or in any way aid or assist in importing or introducing from any part of Great Britain, or any other place whatsoever, into this town or county, any tea subject to the payment of any duty imposed by the aforesaid act of Parliament; or whoever shall willingly and knowingly sell, buy, or consume, or in any way assist in the sale, purchase, or consumption of any tea imported as aforesaid subject to a duty,

he or they shall be stigmatized as enemies to the liberties of America.

“5th. Resolved, That we will not only steadily adhere to the foregoing resolves, but will endeavor to excite our worthy neighbors to a like patriotic conduct; and whoever among us shall refuse his concurrence, or after complying shall desert the cause and knowingly deviate from the true spirit and meaning of these, our resolutions, we will mark him out as inimical to the liberties of America, an unworthy member of the community, and a person not deserving our notice or regard.

“6th. Resolved, That the foregoing resolves be printed, that our brethren in this and the other Colonies may know our sentiments as they are therein contained.’

“Signed by order of the committee,

“W. WRIGHT, *Clerk.*”

“N. B.—The above resolves were entered into upon a discovery of the late importation of the dutiable tea (in the brigantine Geddes, of this port) for some of the neighboring counties. Further measures are in contemplation in consequence of a late and very alarming act of Parliament.”

Talbot Court House (Md.) Meeting.

“May 24, 1774.

“Alarmed at the present situation of America, and impressed with the most tender feelings for the distresses of their brethren and fellow-subjects in Boston, a number of gentlemen having met at this place, took into their serious consideration the part they ought to act as friends to liberty and to the general interests of mankind:

“To preserve the rights and to secure the property of the subject, they apprehend is the end of government. But when those rights are invaded; when the mode prescribed by the laws for the punishment of offences and obtaining justice is disregarded and spurned; when, without being heard in their defence, force is employed and the severest penalties inflicted,—the people, they clearly conceive, have a right not only to complain, but likewise to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent the effect of such measures as may be adopted by a weak or corrupt Ministry to destroy their liberties, deprive them of their property, and rob them of their dearest birth-right as Britons.

“Impressed with the warmest zeal for and loyalty to their most gracious sovereign, and with the most sincere affection for their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, they are determined calmly and steadily to unite with their fellow-subjects in pursuing every legal and constitutional measure, to avert the evils threatened by the late act of Parliament for shutting up the port and harbor of Boston, to support the

common rights of America, and to promote that union and harmony between the mother-country and her Colonies, on which the preservation of both must finally depend."

Annapolis, Anne Arundel Co. (Md.), Meeting.

"May 26, 1774.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Annapolis on Wednesday, the 23d day of May, 1774, after notice given of the time, place, and occasion of this meeting:

"Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is incumbent on every Colony in North America to unite in effectual means to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that if the Colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from, and exportations to, Great Britain, till said act be repealed, the same will preserve North America and her liberties.

"Resolved, therefore, That the inhabitants of this city will join in an association with the several counties of this Province and the principal Colonies of America, to put an immediate stop to all exports to Great Britain, and that after a short day hereafter to be agreed on that there be no imports from Great Britain till said act be repealed, and that such association be on oath.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the gentlemen of the law of this Province bring no suit for the recovery of any debt due from any inhabitant of this Province to any inhabitant of Great Britain until the said act be repealed.

"That the inhabitants of this city will, and it is the opinion of this meeting that this Province ought immediately to break off all trade and dealings with that Colony or Province which shall refuse or decline to come into similar resolutions with a majority of the Colonies.

"That Messrs. John Hall, Charles Carroll, Thomas Johnson, Jr., William Paca, Matthias Hammond, and Samuel Chase be a committee for this city to join with those who shall be appointed for Baltimore town and other parts of this Province to constitute one general committee, and that the gentlemen appointed for this city immediately correspond with Baltimore town and other parts of this Province to effect such association as will best secure American liberty."

An earnest protest was made a day or two later by a large number of citizens in the following resolution, which is among the above:

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the gentlemen of the law of this Province bring no suit for the recovery of

any debt due from any inhabitant of this Province to any inhabitant of Great Britain until the said act be repealed."

Queen Anne (Md.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of a considerable number of the Magistrates, and other the most respectable inhabitants of Queen Anne's County, at Queenstown, on the thirtieth day of May, 1774, in order to deliberate upon the tendency and effect of the act of Parliament for blocking up the port of Boston, That they look upon the cause of Boston, in its consequences, to be the common cause of America.

"That the act of Parliament for blocking up the port and harbor of Boston appears to them a cruel and oppressive invasion of their natural rights as men, and constitutional rights as English subjects, and if not repealed will be a foundation for the utter destruction of American freedom.

"That all legal and constitutional means ought to be used by all America for procuring a repeal of the said act of Parliament. That the only effectual means of obtaining such repeal, they are at present of opinion, is an association, under the strongest ties, for breaking off all commercial connections with Great Britain until the said act of Parliament be repealed, and the right assumed by Parliament for taxing America in all cases whatsoever be given up, and American freedom ascertained and settled upon a permanent constitutional foundation."

Baltimore County Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of Baltimore County, held at the Court House of said county, on Tuesday, the 31st of May, 1774,

"Captain Charles Ridgely, Chairman,

"1st. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is the duty of every Colony in America to unite in the most effectual means to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston. (Dissentient, three.)

"2d. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that if the Colonies come into a joint resolution to stop importations from and exportations to Great Britain and the West Indies, until the act for blocking up the harbor of Boston be repealed, the same may be the means of preserving North America in her liberties. (Dissentient, three.)

"3d. Resolved, That therefore the inhabitants of this county will join in an association with the several counties in this Province and the principal Colonies in America to put a stop to exports to Great Britain and the West Indies, after

the 1st day of October next, or such other day as may be agreed on, and to put a stop to the imports from Great Britain after the first day of December next, or such other day as may be agreed upon, until the said act shall be repealed, and that such association shall be upon oath. (Dissentient, nine.)

"4th. Resolved, unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the most effectual means of uniting all parts of this Province in such association as proposed, a general Congress of deputies from each county be held at Annapolis at such time as may be agreed upon, and that if agreeable to the sense of our sister Colonies delegates shall be appointed from this Province to attend a general Congress of delegates from the other Colonies at such time and place as shall be agreed on, in order to settle and establish a general plan of conduct for the important purposes aforementioned."

Kent County (Md.) Resolutions.

"A numerous and very respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Kent County, in Maryland, was held at the Court House in Chestertown, on Thursday, the 2d day of June, 1774, pursuant to public notice given for that purpose.

"The gentlemen of the Committee being moved with the most tender sympathy for the distresses of their suffering brethren of Boston, particularly of the laboring poor, who are deprived of the means of supporting themselves and their families by the operation of the act for blocking up their harbor, opened a subscription for their relief, which in a little time was filled up to a considerable amount, and is left in the hands of the Chairman to be collected and shipped to them in such articles of provisions as may be most wanted, whenever it shall be necessary."

Anne Arundel County (Md.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of a very considerable and respectable body of inhabitants of Anne Arundel County, inclusive of those of the City of Annapolis, on Saturday, the 4th day of June, 1774,

"Mr. Brice Beale Worthington, Moderator,

"1. Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is incumbent on every Colony in America to unite in effectual means to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston.

"2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that if the Colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from and exportations to Great Britain and the West

Indies till the said act be repealed, the same will be the most effectual means to obtain a repeal of the said act, and preserve North America and her liberties.

"3. Resolved, therefore, unanimously, That the inhabitants of this county will join in an association with the several counties in this Province and the principal Colonies in America to put a stop to exports to Great Britain and the West Indies after the ninth day of October next, or such other day as may be agreed on, and to put a stop to the imports of goods not already ordered, and of those ordered that shall not be shipped from Great Britain by the 20th day of July next, or such other day as may be agreed on, until the said act shall be repealed; and that such association be on oath."

Harford County (Md.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of a very considerable and respectable body of the inhabitants of Harford County of Maryland, on the 11th day of June, 1774,

"Aquila Hall, Chairman,

"1st. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America, and that it is the duty of every Colony to unite in the most effectual constitutional means to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor and port of Boston.

"2d. Resolved, That, therefore, we will join in an association with the other counties of this Province, on oath, not to export to or import from Great Britain any kind of produce or merchandise after such a day as the committees of the several counties at their general meeting shall fix, until the repeal of the Boston Port Act.

"3d. Resolved, That we will deal with none of the West India Islands, Colony or Colonies, person or persons residing therein, who shall not enter into similar resolves with a majority of the Colonies, within such time as the general committees of this Province shall agree, but hold him or them as an enemy or enemies to American liberty."

Frederick County (Md.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of a respectable and numerous body of the Freemen of the lower part of Frederick County at Charles Hungeeford's Tavern, on Saturday, the 11th day of June, 1774,

"Mr. Henry Griffith, Moderator,

"1. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of America.

"2. Resolved unanimously, That every legal and consti-

tutional measure ought to be used by all America for procuring a repeal of the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston.

"3. Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the most effectual means for securing American freedom will be to break off all commerce with Great Britain and the West Indies, until the said act be repealed and the right of taxation given up on permanent principles."

Charles County (Md.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Charles County, on the 14th of June, 1774, at the Court-house in Port-Tobacco town to deliberate on the effect and tendency of the act of Parliament for blocking up the port and harbor of Boston,

"Mr. Walter Hanson unanimously chosen chairman,

"1st. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that the act of the British Parliament passed to block up the harbor and port of Boston and suspend the trade and commerce of that town is a violent attack upon the liberty and property of the inhabitants thereof, and in its consequences tends to render insecure and destroy the rights and privileges of all British America.

"2d. That the town of Boston now suffering under the execution of the said act justly demands the most speedy and effectual assistance of every Colony in America to obtain a repeal of the same.

"3d. That the inhabitants of this county will join in an association with the several counties of this Province to put a stop to all imports from Great Britain after the first day of August next, except the articles of medicine, until the said act be repealed.

"4th. That if the said act of Parliament is not repealed by the 31st day of October, in the year 1775, that then the inhabitants of this county will join with the several counties of this Province and the principal Colonies in America, to break off all commercial connection with Great Britain and the West Indies."

Caroline County (Md.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of respectable inhabitants of Caroline county at Mellville's warehouse, on Saturday the 18th day of June, 1774, by adjournment from Wednesday the 8th of the same month,

"Charles Dickinson, Esq., in the chair,

"1st. Resolved, That the inhabitants of this county are by duty and inclination firmly attached to his most sacred Majesty King George the Third, to whom they owe all due obedience and allegiance.

"2d. That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that

the Boston Port Act is principally grounded on the opposition made by the inhabitants of that town to the tea duty; that the said town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of British America, and that it is the duty of every Colony thereof to unite in the most effectual means to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston.

"3d. That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that if the Colonies come into a resolution to forbear all importations whatsoever from Great Britain (except such articles as are absolutely necessary) until the acts of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston and for levying a duty on America for the express purpose of raising a revenue, shall be repealed, it will be the means of preserving the liberties of North America."

Maryland Convention.

"At a meeting of the committees appointed by the several counties of the Province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, the 22d day of June, 1774, and continued by adjournment from day to day till the 25th day of the same month, all the counties represented;

"Matthew Tilghman, Esquire, chairman;

"John Duckett chosen clerk;

"The letter and vote of the town of Boston, several letters and papers from Philadelphia and Virginia, the act of Parliament for blocking up the port and harbor of Boston, the bill depending in Parliament subversive of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, and the enabling the Governor to send supposed offenders from thence to other Colonies or England for trial, were read, and after mature deliberation thereon,

"1st. Resolved, That the said act of Parliament and bills if passed into acts are cruel and oppressive invasions of the natural rights of the people of the Massachusetts Bay as men, and of their constitutional rights as English subjects; and that the said act, if not repealed, and the said bills if passed into acts, will lay a foundation for the utter destruction of British America; and therefore, that the town of Boston and Province of Massachusetts Bay are now suffering in the common cause of America.

"2d. Resolved, That it is the duty of every Colony in America to unite in the most speedy and effectual means to obtain a repeal of the said act, and also of the said bills if passed into acts.

"3d. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that if the Colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from and exportations to Great Britain, until the said act or bills, if passed into acts, be repealed, the same will be the most speedy and effectual means to obtain a

repeal of the said act or acts and preserve North America and her liberties.

"4th. Resolved, Notwithstanding the people of this Province will have many inconveniences and difficulties to encounter by breaking off their commercial intercourse with their mother-country, and are deeply affected at the distress which will thereby be necessarily brought on many of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, yet their affections and regard to an injured and oppressed sister Colony, their duty to themselves, their posterity, and their country, demand the sacrifice; and therefore that this Province will join in an association with the other principal and neighboring Colonies to stop all exportations to, and importations from, Great Britain, until the said act and bills, if passed into acts, be repealed; the non-importation and non-exportation to take place on such future day as may be agreed on by a general Congress of deputies from the Colonies, the non-export of tobacco to depend and take place only on a similar agreement by Virginia and North Carolina, and to commence at such time as may be agreed on by the deputies for this Province, and the said Colonies of Virginia and North Carolina.

"5th. Resolved, That the deputies of this Province are authorized to agree to any restrictions upon exports to the West Indies which may be deemed necessary by a majority of the Colonies at the general Congress.

"11th. Resolved, unanimously, That this Province will break off all trade and dealings with that Colony, Province, or town which shall decline or refuse to come into the general plan which may be adopted by the Colonies."

"MARYLAND CONVENTION.

"At a meeting of the deputies appointed by the several counties of the Province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, by adjournment, on the 8th day of December, 1774, and continued till the 12th day of the same month were present eighty-five members, viz.:

County.		County.	
For St. Mary's.....	4	For Cecil.....	2
Charles.....	3	Kent.....	2
Calvert.....	5	Queen Anne's.....	4
Prince George's.....	8	Caroline.....	4
Frederick.....	8	Talbot.....	1
Anne Arundel(and		Dorchester.....	5
Annapolis City).....	10	Somerset.....	7
Baltimore.....	8	Worcester.....	5
Harford.....	9		

"Mr. John Hall in the chair and Mr. John Duckett, clerk,

"The proceedings of the Continental Congress were read, considered, and unanimously approved.

“ ‘Resolved, That every member of this Convention will, and every person in the Province ought, strictly and inviolably observe and carry into execution the Association agreed on by the said Continental Congress.’

“ ‘On motion,

“ ‘Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this convention be given by the chairman to the gentlemen who represented this Province as deputies in the late Continental Congress, for their faithful discharge of that important trust.’

“ ‘And the same was accordingly done.

“ ‘As a further regulation to enforce an observance of the late Continental Association,—

“ ‘Resolved unanimously, That in all cases where breaches of the Continental Association, or the resolves of this Convention, shall happen and be declared such by any committee of a county, no gentleman of the law ought to bring or prosecute any suit whatever for such offender; and if any factor shall commit any breach of the said Association or resolves, that no gentleman of the law ought to bring or prosecute any suit for any debt due to the store of which the said factor has the management, after notice as aforesaid.

“ ‘Resolved unanimously, That if the late acts of Parliament relative to the Massachusetts Bay shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force in that Colony, or if the assumed power of Parliament to tax the Colonies shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force in that or any other Colony, that in such case this Province will support such Colony to the utmost of their power.

“ ‘Resolved unanimously, That a well-regulated militia, composed of the gentlemen, freeholders, and other freemen, is the natural strength and only suitable security of a free government; and that such militia will relieve our mother-country from any expense in our protection and defence; will obviate the pretence of necessity for taxing us on that account, and render it unnecessary to keep any standing army (ever dangerous to liberty) in this Province; and therefore it is recommended to such of the said inhabitants of this Province as are from sixteen to fifty years of age to form themselves into companies of sixty-eight men; to choose a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, and one drummer for each company, and use their utmost endeavors to make themselves master of the military exercise; that each man be provided with a good firelock and bayonet fitted thereon, half a pound of powder, two pounds of lead, and a cartouch-box or powderhorn, and bag for ball, and be in readiness to act on any emergency.

“ ‘Resolved unanimously, That it is recommended to the committee of each county to raise, by subscription, or in such other voluntary manner as they may think proper and

will be most agreeable to their respective counties, such sums of money as, with any moneys already raised, will amount to the following sums in the respective committees, to wit:

County.		County.	
In St. Mary's.....	£ 600	Somerset.....	£533
Charles.....	800	Dorchester.....	480
Calvert.....	366	Caroline.....	358
Prince George's.....	833	Talbot.....	400
Anne Arundel.....	866	Queen Anne's.....	533
Frederick.....	1,333	Kent.....	566
Baltimore.....	933	Cecil.....	400
Harford.....	466		
Worcester.....	533		£10,000

“ ‘And that the committees of the respective counties lay out the same in the purchase of arms and ammunition for the use of such county, to be secured and kept in proper and convenient places under the direction of the said committees.’ ”

“ ‘MARYLAND CONVENTION, }
 “ ‘Monday, August 14, 1775. } ”

“ ‘Resolved unanimously, That the following Association be signed by the members of this convention, and by all other the freemen of this Province:

“ ‘ASSOCIATION OF THE FREEMEN OF MARYLAND, }
 “ ‘July 26, 1775. } ”

“ ‘The long-premeditated and now avowed design of the British government to raise a revenue from the property of the Colonists, without their consent, on the gift, grant, and disposition of the Commons of Great Britain; the arbitrary and vindictive statutes passed under color of punishing a riot, to subdue by military force and by famine the Massachusetts Bay; the unlimited power assumed by Parliament to alter the Charter of that Province and the Constitutions of all the Colonies, thereby destroying the essential securities of the lives, liberties, and properties of the Colonists; the commencement of hostilities by the Ministerial forces, and the cruel prosecution of the war against the people of Massachusetts Bay, followed by General Gage's proclamation declaring almost the whole of the inhabitants of the United Colonies by name or description rebels and traitors,—are sufficient causes to arm a free people in defence of their liberty, and to justify resistance, no longer dictated by prudence merely, but by necessity, and leave no alternative but base submission or manly opposition to uncontrollable tyranny. The Congress chose the latter; and for the express purpose of securing and defending the United Colonies and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the above-mentioned acts into execution by force of arms, resolved that the said Colonies be immediately put into a state

of defence; and now support at the joint expense an army to restrain the further violence and repel the future attacks of a disappointed and exasperated enemy.

“We, therefore, inhabitants of the Province of Maryland, firmly persuaded that it is necessary and justifiable to repel force by force, do approve of the opposition by arms to the British troops employed to enforce obedience to the late acts and statutes of the British Parliament for raising a revenue in America, and altering and changing the Charter and Constitution of the Massachusetts Bay, and for destroying the essential securities for the lives, liberties, and properties of the subjects in the United Colonies. And we do unite and associate as one band, and firmly and solemnly engage and pledge ourselves to each other and to America that we will to the utmost of our power promote and support the present opposition carrying on, as well by arms, as by the Continental Association restraining commerce.

“And as in these times of public danger, and until a reconciliation with Great Britain on Constitutional principles is effected (an event we most ardently wish may soon take place) the energy of government may be greatly impaired, so that even zeal unrestrained may be productive of anarchy and confusion; we do in like manner unite, associate, and solemnly engage in maintenance of good order and the public peace, to support the civil power in the due execution of the laws, so far as may be consistent with the present plan of opposition, and to defend with our utmost power all persons from any species of outrage to themselves or their property, and to prevent any punishment from being inflicted on any offenders other than such as shall be adjudged by the civil magistrate, the Continental Congress, our convention, council of safety, or committees of observation.”

Instructions to Maryland Delegates in Congress.

“IN CONVENTION HELD AT ANNAPOLIS, IN MARYLAND, }
“ January 11, 1776. }

“To the Honorable Matthew Tilghman, Esq., Thomas Johnson, Jun., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone, Robert Alexander, and John Rogers, Esquires:

“The convention, taking into their most serious consideration the present state of the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and the United Colonies, think it proper to deliver you their sentiments, and to instruct you in certain points relative to your conduct in Congress as representatives of this Province.

“We further instruct you that you do not, without the previous knowledge and approbation of the convention of this Province, assent to any proposition to declare these Colonies independent of the Crown of Great Britain, nor to any proposition for making or entering into alliance with

any foreign power, nor to any union or confederation of these Colonies which may necessarily lead to a separation from the mother-country, unless in your judgments, or in the judgments of any four of you, or a majority of the whole of you (if all shall then be attending in Congress), it shall be thought absolutely necessary for the preservation of the liberties of the United Colonies: and should a majority of the Colonies in Congress against such, your judgment, resolve to declare these Colonies independent of the Crown of Great Britain; or to make or enter into alliance with any foreign power, or into any union or confederation of these Colonies which may necessarily lead to a separation from the mother-country,—then we instruct you immediately to call the convention of this Province, and repair thereto with such proposition and resolve, and lay the same before the said convention for their consideration. And this convention will not hold this Province bound by such majority in Congress until the representative body of the Province in convention assent thereto.”

Robert Alexander to Maryland Council of Safety.

(Extract.)

“PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 27, 1776.

“One of the letters was directed to Willing and Morris, without any signature: it contained a printed copy of my Lord North’s Conciliatory Act, by which all American vessels found on the coasts of Great Britain or Ireland are to be seized and confiscated on the 1st day of January. All American vessels sailing into or out of the ports of America after the 1st of March are to be seized and confiscated; all foreign vessels trading to America after the 1st of June to be seized; all communication between Great Britain, or Ireland, or the British West Indies, with America, to be cut off; all captures made by British ships of-war, or by the officers of the King’s troops in America, adjudged by this act to be lawful prizes, and, as such, Courts of Admiralty to proceed in their condemnation. All orders for the regulation of Courts of Admiralty in America, heretofore made by the King in council, or which may hereafter be made, are confirmed. The Boston Port Bill, the Fishing Bill, and the Restraining Act are repealed by this bill; the Colonies being in the like circumstances and situation. The last clause of this more than diabolical act enables the King to appoint commissioners to grant pardons, and receive the submissions of any Province, county, town, or district. I shall make no comments on this act; it is only a further stage in that system of tyranny hitherto pursued by that —, who under the influence of a Scotch Junto, now disgraces the British throne.

"What measures Congress may pursue in consequence of this act, I know not. With me the very idea of reconciliation is precluded by the conduct of Great Britain; and the only alternative, absolute slavery or independence; the latter I have often reprobated, both in public and private, but am now almost convinced the measure is right and can be justified by necessity."

"MARYLAND CONVENTION, }
"June 28, 1776. }

"Resolved unanimously, That the instructions given by the convention of December last (and renewed by the convention in May) to the deputies of this Colony in Congress be recalled, and the restrictions therein contained removed; that the deputies of this Colony attending in Congress, or a majority of them, or any three or more of them, be authorized and empowered to concur with the other United Colonies or a majority of them, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent states, in forming such further compact and confederation between them; in making foreign alliances; and in adopting such other measures as shall be adjudged necessary for securing the liberties of America. And this Colony will hold itself bound by the resolutions of a majority of the United Colonies in the premises: provided, the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police of this Colony be reserved to the people thereof."

CHAPTER V.

VIRGINIA.

THE following account of the action of the Virginia House of Burgesses, with reference to the tax on tea and other articles, is taken from Burk's history of that State.

The House also earnestly remonstrate against the transportation to England, for trial, of persons charged with treason, misprison of treason, and other felonies. This high-handed procedure, as elsewhere seen, was in pursuance of an act of 35th Henry VIII., revived in 1768 and made applicable to America.

No Colony excelled Virginia in the elevated tone and diction of the resolutions, addresses, and other papers that emanated from her public bodies. In those times her wealthy gentry sent their sons to Europe to be educated, in many instances; and besides, she had an excellent institution of her own, in William and Mary College. To her honor, also, Virginia has ever been distinguished for filling the high places of state with her best men.

"ASSEMBLY, }
 "May 11, 1769. }

"The Governor, Botetourt, having proposed no specific objects for their consideration, the House proceeded, without delay, to a spirited inquiry into the nature and tendency of the late Parliamentary duties which they scrupled not to ascribe to a deliberate intention of subverting the ancient rights and Constitution of the Colony. In the investigation of this important subject, they were no longer embarrassed by the sophistry of opposition, one unanimous sentiment having absolved all the shades and distinctions of opinion. In this spirit the following resolutions were submitted and adopted:

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of this his Majesty's Colony and dominion of Virginia is now, and ever has been, legally and constitutionally vested in the House of Burgesses, lawfully convened according to the ancient and established practice, with the consent of the Council, and of his Majesty, the King of Britain, or his Governor for the time being.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it is the undoubted privilege of the inhabitants of this Colony to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances; and that it is lawful and expedient to procure the concurrence of his Majesty's other Colonies, in dutiful addresses, praying the royal interposition in favor of the violated rights of America.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That all trials for treason, misprison of treason, or for any felony or crime whatsoever committed or done in this his Majesty's said Colony and dominion, by any person or persons residing therein, ought of right to be had and conducted in and before his Majesty's courts held within his said Colony, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding; and that the seizing any person or persons residing in this Colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such person or persons to places beyond the sea to be tried, is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from their vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses in such trial, will be taken away from the party accused.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an humble, dutiful, and loyal address be presented to his Majesty, to assure him of our inviolable attachment to his sacred person and government, and to beseech his royal interposition, however remote from the seat of his empire, to quiet the minds of his loyal subjects of this Colony, and to avert from them those dangers and miseries which will ensue from the seizing and carrying beyond sea any person residing in America, suspected of any crime whatsoever, to be tried in any other

manner than by the ancient and long-established course of proceeding."

It was then "Ordered, That the speaker of this House do transmit without delay, to the speakers of the several Houses of Assembly on this continent, a copy of the resolutions now agreed to by the House, requesting their concurrence therein."

On the adoption of these resolutions, the Assembly received the following communication from the Governor:

"MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSSES: I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The members of the House then agreed to the following Association:

"Therefore, in justice to ourselves and our posterity, as well as to the traders of Great Britain concerned in the American commerce, we, the subscribers, have voluntarily and unanimously entered into the following resolutions, in hopes that our example will induce the good people of this Colony to be frugal in the use and consumption of British manufactures, and that the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain may, from motives of interest, friendship, and justice, be engaged to exert themselves to obtain for us a redress of those grievances under which the trade and inhabitants of America at present labor. We do therefore most earnestly recommend this our association, to the serious attentions of all gentlemen, merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of this Colony, in hopes that they will very readily and cordially accede thereto.

"First, It is unanimously agreed on and resolved this 18th day of May, 1769, that the subscribers, as well by their own example as all other legal ways and means in their power, will promote and encourage industry and frugality, and discourage all manner of luxury and extravagance.

"Secondly, That they will not at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly, import or cause to be imported any manner of goods, merchandise, or manufactures which are or shall hereafter be taxed by act of Parliament, for raising a revenue in America (except paper not exceeding eight shillings sterling per ream, and except such articles only as orders have been already sent for), nor purchase any such after the first day of September next, of any person whatsoever, but that they will always consider such taxation in every respect as an absolute prohibition, and in all future orders direct their correspondents to ship them no goods whatever taxed as aforesaid, except as is above excepted."

"Fifthly, That they will not import any slaves, or purchase any imported after the first day of November next, until the said acts are repealed."

The foregoing account of the action of the House of Burgesses is taken from Burk's History of Virginia, vol. IV.

In 1772, the House of Burgesses adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this Colony have been much disturbed by various rumours and reports of proceedings tending to deprive them of their ancient, legal, and constitutional rights; and whereas the affairs of this Colony are frequently connected with those of Great Britain, as well as of the neighboring Colonies, which renders a communication of sentiments necessary: In order, therefore, to remove the uneasiness and to quiet the minds of the people, as well as for the other good purposes above mentioned, be it,—

"Resolved, That a standing Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry be appointed, to consist of eleven persons, to-wit, the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson, Esquires, any six of whom to be a committee whose business it shall be to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of such acts and resolutions of the British Parliament, or proceedings of administration, as may relate to or affect the British Colonies in America; and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister-Colonies respecting these important considerations, and the result of such their proceedings, from time to time, to lay before the House.

"Resolved, That it be an instruction to said committee, that they do, without delay, inform themselves particularly of the principle and authority on which was constituted a Court of Inquiry, said to have been lately held in Rhode Island, with powers to transport persons accused of offences committed in America to places beyond the seas to be tried.

"Resolved, That the speaker of this House do transmit to the speakers of the different Assemblies of the British Colonies on this continent, copies of the said resolutions, and desire that they will lay them before their respective Assemblies, and request them to appoint some person or persons of their respective bodies to communicate, from time to time, with the said committee."

"WILLIAMSBURG, May 30, 1774.

"The House of Burgesses of Virginia, on the 24th of May, adopted the following resolution, which was directed to be forthwith printed and published:

"Tuesday, 24th May (14th George III.), 1774.

"This House, being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America from

the hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister-Colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose commerce and harbor are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June be set apart by the members of this House as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; to give us one heart and one mind firmly to oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his Majesty and his Parliament may be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with ruin.

“Ordered, therefore, That the members of this House do attend in their places at the hour of ten in the forenoon on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the speaker and the mace to the church in this city for the purposes aforesaid; and that the Reverend Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion.’”

A letter to the inhabitants of Charleston, S. C.:

“NORFOLK, May 31, 1774.

“GENTLEMEN: The occasion is too serious to admit of apologies for this unsolicited communication of our sentiments to you at this alarming crisis to American freedom; for the time is come, the unhappy era has arrived, when the closest union among ourselves and the firmest confidence in each other are our only securities for those rights which, as men and freemen, we derive from nature and the Constitution. The late hostile Parliamentary invasion of the town of Boston, we deem an attack upon the liberties of us all. Of the particulars of that unhappy transaction we presume you are already fully informed, and, we doubt not, shudder with us at this systematic mode of depriving the unrepresented American of his rights and possessions, and vesting the Crown with such despotic power over the free-born inhabitants of the capital of Massachusetts Bay. What measures are most proper to be adopted on this sad occasion we are at a loss to point out; but we look to the wisdom of your city, in conjunction with the other large commercial towns on this continent, to take more immediately the lead in these important matters, and to fix upon such expedients in the regulation of trade as may be most productive of relief to our suffering brethren of Boston, and the general establishment of the rights of these Colonies; and you may rest assured that, in every measure conducive to this grand con-

tinental object, you will always meet with our most hearty concurrence.

"We are under great apprehensions for the people of Boston, lest they may sink under the weight of their misfortunes. And at the same time that we highly approve of the expediency of a Congress as proposed by several of the Colonies, we think the trading part of the community ought particularly to interfere; for nothing but the most speedy and efficacious measures can relieve them; and if, after all, there should be found an unhappy necessity to reimburse the India Company for that just punishment they received for their invidious attempts on our liberties, we trust there is no inhabitant of these Colonies who feels and thinks himself a freeman, but will cheerfully put his hand to his purse and join in the general expense. Inclosed we transmit you the proceedings of the inhabitants of the borough of Norfolk and town of Portsmouth, together with the letters and other papers from Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, as also copies of the resolutions and other proceedings of the members of our late House of Burgesses both before and after their dissolution. We hope to be able to inform you more particularly of the collected sense of the trade of this Colony at the general meeting of the merchants next week at Williamsburg, when we expect further despatches from the northward. We hope the favor of a free and full communication of your sentiments on this important occasion, and trust that your flourishing and respectable Province will still continue their generous endeavors for the establishment of the rights of the Colonies, that the opposition of all America may be as extensive as the oppression.

"With the warmest attachment to the interests of the Colonies, we are, gentlemen, most respectfully, your most obedient humble servants,

THOMAS NEWTON, JUNR.,
JOSEPH HUTCHINGS,
PAUL LOYALL,
ALEXANDER LOVE,
SAMUEL INGLIS,

JOHN GREENWOOD,
ALEXANDER SKINNER,
WILLIAM HARVEY,
NIEL JAMIESON."

Prince William (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders, merchants, and other inhabitants of the county of Prince William, and town of Dumfries, in the Colony of Virginia, at the Court-house of said county, on Monday the 6th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1774,—

"Resolved, and it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, That no person ought to be taxed but by his own consent, expressed either by himself or his representatives; and that therefore any act of Parliament levying a tax to be collected in America, depriving the people of their property, or prohib-

iting them from trading with one another is subversive of our natural rights and contrary to the first principles of the Constitution.

“ ‘Resolved, That the city of Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, is now suffering in the common cause of American liberty, and on account of its opposition to an act of the British legislature for imposing a duty upon the tea to be collected in America.’ ”

Woodstock (Va.) Resolutions.

“ At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Dunmore, held at the town of Woodstock, the 16th day of June, 1774, to consider the best mode to be fallen upon to secure their liberties and properties; and also to prevent the dangerous tendency of [which] an act of Parliament passed in the fourteenth year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, ‘ An Act to Discontinue in Such Manner and for Such Time as is Therein Mentioned, the Landing and Discharging, Lading or Shipping of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, at the Town and Within the Harbor of Boston, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in North America,’ evidently has, to invade and deprive us of the same.

“ ‘Resolved, 1st. That we will always cheerfully pay due submission to such acts of government as his Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, as sovereign, to the British dominions, and to such only.

“ ‘2d. That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by representatives chosen by themselves only; and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the internal policy of North America is a dangerous and unconstitutional invasion of our rights and privileges.

“ ‘3d. That the act of Parliament above mentioned is not only itself repugnant to the fundamental laws of natural justice in condemning persons, for supposed crime, unheard; but also a despotic exertion of unconstitutional power, calculated to enslave a free and loyal people.

“ ‘4th. That the enforcing the execution of the said act of Parliament by a military power will have a necessary tendency to raise a civil war, thereby dissolving that union which has so long happily subsisted between the mother-country and her Colonies; and that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our suffering brethren of Boston, and every other part of North America that may be the immediate victims of tyranny, in promoting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure a redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties.

“ ‘5th. It is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that a joint resolution of all the Colonies to stop all importations

from Great Britain, and exportations to it, till the said act be repealed, will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; on the other hand, if they continue their imports and exports, there is the greatest reason to fear that power and the most odious oppression will rise triumphant over right, justice, social happiness, and freedom.”

Westmoreland County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a respectable meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Westmoreland, assembled, on due notice, at the Court-house of the said county, on Wednesday the 22d of June, 1774,—

“Resolved, 1st. That to be taxed solely in our Provincial Assemblies, by representatives freely chosen by the people, is a right that British subjects in America are entitled to from natural justice, from the English Constitution, from charters, and from a confirmation of these by usage since the first establishment of these Colonies.

“2d. That an endeavor to enforce submission from one Colony, to the payment of taxes not so imposed, is a dangerous attack on the liberty and property of British America, and renders it indispensably necessary that all should firmly unite to resist the common danger.

“3d. It is the opinion of this meeting that the town of Boston, in our sister-Colony of Massachusetts Bay, is now suffering in the common cause of North America, by having its harbor blocked up, its commerce destroyed, and the property of many of its inhabitants violently taken from them, until they submit to taxes not imposed by their consent: and therefore this meeting resolve,—

“4th. That the inhabitants of this county will most cordially and firmly join with the other counties in this Colony, and the other Colonies on this continent, or the majority of them, after a short day, hereafter to be agreed on, to stop all exports to Great Britain and the West Indies, and all imports from thence, until as well the act of Parliament entitled ‘An Act to Discontinue in Such Manner and for Such Time as are Therein Mentioned, the Landing and Discharging, Lading and Shipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, at the Town and Within the Harbor of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America,’ as the several acts laying duties on America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and all the acts of the British legislature made against our brothers of Massachusetts Bay, in consequence of their just opposition to the said revenue acts, are repealed; and it is the opinion of this meeting that such a non-importing and non-exporting plan should be quickly entered upon, as well on the evident principle of self-preservation, as to relieve our suffering countrymen and fellow-subjects in Boston and to restore between Great Britain and Amer-

ica that harmony so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all America.'"

Spottsylvania County (Va.) Resolutions.

"We, the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Spottsylvania, being assembled on this 24th day of June, 1774, to advise and consult with our late representatives (agreeable to their invitation) on the present state of British America, and having taken under our most serious consideration the several acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, made during the present reign, respecting America, particularly one act wherein a duty on tea is made payable in America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and three other acts of the last session of the present Parliament respecting the Province of Massachusetts Bay, are of opinion: That the said several acts of Parliament are unconstitutional, arbitrary, and unjust, manifestly calculated for the destruction of the rights of America and the British Constitution in general, and ought to be opposed by all well-wishers as well of the mother-country as of the Colonies, whose interests are mutual, and ought ever to be considered as inseparable.

"Resolved further, That we owe no obedience to any act of the British Parliament that is or shall be made respecting the internal police of this Colony, and that we will oppose any such acts with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That the said acts of the British Parliament respecting the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and the town of Boston, tending to enforce obedience to the aforesaid unconstitutional act imposing a duty upon tea for raising a revenue in America, ought to be considered as an attempt against the rights and liberties of America in general, and that the same ought to be opposed by the people of this Colony.

"Resolved, That the most effectual method of opposing the said several acts of Parliament will be to break off all commercial connection with Great Britain till the said acts be repealed."

Richmond County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a respectable meeting of the freeholders and freemen of the county of Richmond, Virginia, after due notice to attend at the Court-house of said county, on Wednesday the 29th of June, 1774, in order to give their sentiments to their late representatives invited to meet in Williamsburg on the first day of August next, to deliberate on the matters of the utmost importance to this country, they after making choice of the Reverend Isaac William Giberne as moderator, came to the following resolutions:

"1st. That it is the undoubted right of the people of British America to be taxed only by their respective Provin-

cial Assemblies, which right they claim from Charter, natural justice, and constant usage ever since their first settlement in America; and that an attempt to force one Colony to pay tax imposed by the British Legislature where they have not nor could have any representative, is a violent attack on their constitutional rights.

"2d. They do respect the Bostonians in their sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay as suffering in the common cause of British America; and that the hostile attack now made on them by the Parliament of Great Britain in blocking up their harbor and violently taking away the property of many individuals, by preventing them the use of their wharfs, quays, etc., is an avowed intention to reduce all America to a state of slavery.

"3d. It is the opinion of this meeting that nothing will be more conducive to prevent such oppressions than immediately to stop all imports from Great Britain, and at a short day hereafter to be fixed to stop all exports to Great Britain and the West Indies until there is a total repeal of not only the act called the Boston Port Bill, but also of all the several acts of the British Parliament laying taxes on the Americans for the purpose of raising a revenue, and those other acts made against the rights of the people of Massachusetts Bay on account of their virtuous opposition to the said revenue acts."

Prince George County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Prince George County, Virginia (in June, 1774), the following resolves were proposed and unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved, That we will at all times, whenever we are called upon for that purpose, maintain and defend, at the expense of our lives and fortunes, his Majesty's right and title to the Crown of Great Britain and his dominions in America, to whose royal person and government we profess all due obedience and fidelity.

"Resolved, That the right to impose taxes or duties to be paid by the inhabitants within this dominion, for any purpose whatever, is peculiar and essential to the General Assembly, in whom the legislative authority of the Colony is vested.

"Resolved, That every attempt to impose such taxes or duties by any other authority is an arbitrary exertion of power, and an infringement of the constitutional rights and liberties of the Colony.

"Resolved, That the late cruel, unjust, and sanguinary acts of Parliament to be executed by military force and ships of war upon our sister Colony of the Massachusetts Bay and town of Boston is a strong evidence of the corrupt influence obtained by the British Ministry in Parliament,

and a convincing proof of their fixed intention to deprive the Colonies of their constitutional rights and liberties.

"Resolved, That the cause of the town of Boston is the common cause of all the American Colonies."

James City County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders of James City County, on the first of July, 1774, at the house of Mr. Isham Allen, in order to consult with their late representatives what measures were most necessary to ward off the impending evils which seem to threaten all British America, those matters being calmly and maturely entered into, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That we will not import any article whatever from Great Britain.

"Resolved, That we will stop all exports to Great Britain after such a day as shall be appointed by the general meeting on the first of August next.

"Resolved, That a subscription paper be handed about among the people of James City, to raise money, corn, wheat, or any other commodity which may be most agreeable to the subscribers, for the relief of the people of Boston."

Culpepper County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the Freeholders and other inhabitants of Culpepper County, in Virginia, assembled on due notice at the Court-house of the said county on Thursday, the 7th of July, 1774, to consider the most effectual method to preserve the rights and liberties of America,

"Henry Pendleton, Esq., Moderator,

"Resolved, That we will, whenever we are called upon for that purpose, maintain and defend his Majesty's right and title to the Crown of Great Britain, and all other his dominions thereunto belonging, to whose royal person and government we profess all due obedience and fidelity.

"Resolved, That the right to impose taxes or duties to be paid by the inhabitants of this Colony, for any purpose whatsoever, is peculiar and essential to the general Assembly, in whom the legislative authority is vested.

"Resolved, That every attempt to impose taxes or duties by any other authority is an arbitrary exertion of power and an infringement of the constitutional and just rights and liberties of the Colony, and that we will at all times, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, oppose any act imposing such taxes or duties, unless we are legally represented; and that the act of the British Parliament imposing a duty on tea to be paid by the inhabitants of the Colonies upon importation is evidently designed to fix on the Americans those chains forged for them by a corrupt Ministry.

“Resolved, That the late cruel and unjust acts of Parliament, to be executed by force upon our sister Colony of the Massachusetts Bay and town of Boston, is a convincing proof of the unjust and corrupt influence obtained by the British Ministry in Parliament, and a fixed determination to deprive the Colonies of their constitutional and just rights and liberties.

“Resolved, That the town of Boston is now suffering in the common cause of the American Colonies.”

Essex County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of Essex County, Virginia, at the Court-house thereof, on Saturday, the 9th of July, 1774, seriously to consider the present dangers which threaten ruin to American liberty,

“Mr. John Upshaw, Moderator,

“The following resolves were proposed and unanimously agreed to:

“1st. Resolved, That we will at all times and upon all occasions bear true and faithful allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and that as freemen we always have been and ever shall be willing constitutionally to give and grant liberally our property for the support of his Crown and dignity and the preservation of our present state, but that we can never consent to part with it on any other terms.

“2d. Resolved, That the legislature of this Colony for the purpose of internal taxation is distinct from that of Great Britain, formed upon the principles of the British Constitution, and equal in all respects to the purposes of legislation and taxation within this Colony.

“4th. Resolved, That the town of Boston, in our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay, is now suffering in the common cause of North America for their just opposition to such acts, and it is indispensably necessary that all the Colonies should firmly unite in defence of our common rights.

“5th. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that an agreement to stop all exports to, and imports from, Great Britain and the West Indies, firmly entered into and religiously complied with, will at all times prove a safe and infallible means of securing us against the evils of any unconstitutional and tyrannical acts of Parliament, and may be adopted upon the principles of self-preservation, the great law of nature.”

Fauquier County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Fauquier, in Virginia, on the 9th of July, 1774, at the Court-house of the said county,

“Mr. Wharton Ransdell, Moderator,

"The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved, That it is an undoubted right of British subjects, and without which freedom cannot exist, to be taxed only by their own free consent, either personally given or by their representatives legally assembled.

"Resolved, That as the British subjects in America are not, and from their situation cannot ever be, represented in the British Parliament, any act of Parliament laying a tax on them is subversive of their natural rights and contrary to the first principles of our free Constitution.

"Resolved, That the act of Parliament laying a duty on tea, etc., exported from Great Britain to these Colonies, for the avowed purpose of raising a revenue in America, will, if submitted to, fix a precedent whereby the Parliamentary claim of taxing America may be established, arbitrary power introduced, and the liberty of the British Colonies laid at the feet of a despotic and execrable Ministry.

"Resolved, That any person, who, contrary to the general sense of the country expressed by their late representatives, shall purchase, vend, or make use of tea, till such time as the act of Parliament laying a duty on that article for the purpose of raising a revenue in America shall be repealed, shall be deemed an enemy to American liberty and the common rights of mankind, and ought to be publicly stigmatized as such."

Nansemond County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Nansemond, on the 11th day of July, 1774, the following resolutions were proposed and unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved, That we will at all times, whenever we are called upon for that purpose, maintain and defend at the expense of our lives and fortunes his Majesty's right and title to the Crown of Great Britain and his dominions in America, to whose royal person and government we profess all due obedience and fidelity.

"Resolved, That the right to impose taxes or duties to be paid by the inhabitants within this Dominion for any such purpose whatsoever, is peculiar and essential to the General Assembly, in whom the legislative authority of the Colony is invested.

"Resolved, That every attempt to impose such taxes or duties by any other authority is an arbitrary exertion of power and an infringement of the constitutional rights and liberties of the Colony.

"Resolved, That to impose a tax or duty upon tea by the British Parliament, in which the Commons of the North American Colonies can have no representation, to be paid upon importation by the inhabitants of the said Colonies, is

an act of power without right, is subversive of the liberties of the said Colonies, deprives them of their property without their consent, and thereby reduces them to a state of slavery.

“Resolved, That the late cruel, unjust, and sanguinary acts of Parliament, to be executed by military force and ships of war upon our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay and town of Boston, is a strong evidence of the corrupt influence obtained by the British Ministry in Parliament, and a convincing proof of their fixed intention to deprive the Colonies of their constitutional rights and liberties.

“Resolved, That the cause of the town of Boston is the common cause of all the American Colonies.

“Resolved, That a general association between all the American Colonies not to import from Great Britain any commodity whatsoever, ought to be entered into and not dissolved until the just rights of the said Colonies are restored to them, and the cruel acts of the British Parliament against Massachusetts Bay and town of Boston are repealed.”

New-Kent County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of New Kent, at the Court-house of said county, on Tuesday, the 12th day of July, 1774:

“Resolved, That the inhabitants of the British Colonies in America are entitled to all the rights, liberties, and privileges of free-born English subjects.

“Resolved, That the right to impose taxes or duties, to be paid by the inhabitants of this Dominion, for any purpose whatever, is peculiar and essential to the General Assembly, in whom the legislative authority of the Colony is placed, and that taxation and representation are inseparable.

“Resolved, That trial by a jury of the vicinage is the glory of the English law, and the best security for the life, liberty, and property of the subject, and is the undoubted birthright of all his Majesty's free-born American subjects.

“Resolved, That the several acts and resolutions of the Parliament of Great Britain made during his present Majesty's reign, imposing taxes on the inhabitants of America for the express purpose of raising a revenue, and for altering the nature and punishment of offences committed in America, or the method of trial of such offences, are unconstitutional, arbitrary, and unjust, and destructive of the rights of America; and that we are not bound to yield obedience to any such acts.

“Resolved, That the late cruel, unjust, and sanguinary acts of Parliament, to be executed, by military force and ships of war, upon our sister-Colony of Massachusetts Bay and town of Boston, is a strong evidence of the corrupt influence

obtained by the British Ministry in Parliament, and a convincing proof of their fixed intention to deprive the Colonies of their Constitutional rights and liberties.

"Resolved, That the cause of the town of Boston is the common cause of all American Colonies.

"Resolved, That we do heartily approve of the resolutions and proceedings of our several late Assemblies for asserting and supporting the just rights and liberties of America, from their patriotic resolves in 1765 to this time.

"Resolved, That the most effectual method of opposing the said several acts of Parliament will be to break off all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the said acts shall be repealed."

Chesterfield County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Chesterfield, at the Court-house of said county, on Thursday, the 14th of July, 1774, to take into consideration the present very alarming situation of this Colony,

"The Reverend Archibald McRobert being unanimously chosen moderator,

"Resolved, That the sole right of making laws for the government of this his Majesty's ancient Colony and dominion of Virginia, and for raising and levying taxes on the inhabitants thereof, ought to be and is vested in the General Assembly of the said Colony, and cannot be executed by any other power without danger to our liberties, subject, nevertheless, as of custom has been, to his Majesty's approbation.

"Resolved, That every other of his Majesty's dominions in America ought to be, and of right is, entitled to the same privileges as this Colony.

"Resolved, That the act of the British Parliament for depriving the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in our sister-Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, of their lawful trade, as also the bills brought into the House of Commons of Great Britain, one of which bills is entitled "A bill for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots or tumults in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England," are unjust, arbitrary, and unconstitutional; and although levelled particularly against one of our first Colonies, yet ought to be resented with the same indignation by this, and every Colony, as if all of them were included in the said act and bills."

Gloucester County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a general and full meeting of the inhabitants of the county of Gloucester, at the Court-house of the said county, after due notice, on Thursday, July 14, 1774,

“James Hubbard, Esq., judge of the said county court, being unanimously chosen moderator,

“They came to the following resolves:

“‘Resolved, That we will ever maintain and defend his Majesty’s right and title to the Crown of Great Britain and his dominions in America, to whose royal person we profess the firmest attachment.

“‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that taxation and representation are inseparable; and as we are not, and, from the nature of things, cannot be, represented in the British Parliament, every attempt of that body to impose internal taxes on America is arbitrary, unconstitutional, and oppressive.

“‘Resolved, That the act for blocking up the harbor of Boston, and other purposes therein mentioned, is cruel and unjust, and a convincing proof of the fixed intention of Parliament to deprive America of their Constitutional rights and liberties.

“‘Resolved, That the cause of Boston is the common cause of all America, and that we will firmly unite with the other counties in this Colony, and the other Colonies on this continent, in every measure that may be thought necessary on this alarming occasion.

“‘Resolved, That we do most heartily concur with our late representatives in their resolve of the total disuse of tea, and do further resolve against the use of any East India commodity whatsoever, except saltpetre.’”

Caroline County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Caroline, at the Court-house, on Thursday, the 14th day of July, 1774, assembled for the purpose of deliberating and giving their sentiments upon the present state of affairs in America, and what ought to be done at this most alarming crisis, the following points were agitated and agreed to as the opinion of this county:

“‘That for Americans to be exempted from every kind of taxation except by the consent of their own representatives in their several Provincial Assemblies, to be heard in their defence when accused of crimes and tried by their peers, are rights they derive from natural justice, the British Constitution (to which they are equally entitled with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain), and from constant usage, so long as the true principles of the Constitution have been suffered to direct the public councils.

“‘That tea, being the subject of the tax complained of, and the East India Company having acted ungenerously in sending great quantities of it to America to fix the precedent of taxation, though desired to forbear, we most cordially concur with the late representatives of this Colony to disuse

tea, and not to purchase any East India commodities from henceforth, until the just rights of America be restored.’”

Henrico County (Va.) Instructions to their Delegates.

“At a meeting of the loyal and patriotic people of the county of Henrico, in Virginia, at the Court-house on the 15th of July, 1774, the following address to their late worthy representatives was agreed on and signed by a great number of freeholders:

“‘To Richard Adams and Samuel Duval, Esqrs.:

“‘We, the subscribers, freeholders of the county of Henrico, assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the present posture of public affairs, return you our thanks for the part you acted in the late Assembly as our Burgesses.

“‘When we reflect on the alarming and critical situation of things respecting the mother-country, our minds are filled with the most anxious concern.

“‘The acts of the British Parliament made for punishing the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay are repugnant to the first principles of justice, and, if they are suffered to have a full operation, will not only crush our sister-Colony, and involve the guilty and the innocent in one common ruin, but will stand as a fatal precedent to future times, for adopting the same fatal measures towards this and every other British Colony. We have therefore passed this determination, and shall conduct ourselves conformably, that the cause of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in general, and the town of Boston in particular, is the cause of this and every Colony in North America.

“‘We hope, gentlemen, that the exceeding importance of the present crisis will plead our excuse for giving you our sentiments touching that conduct which we wish you to observe in the ensuing Congress on the first day of August next, at Williamsburg, to which we depute you to act on our behalf.’”

Middlesex County (Va.) Resolutions.

“After the freeholders of the county of Middlesex had proceeded in the most decent and orderly manner to the election of representatives for the county on the 15th of July (1774), they were summoned to meet at the Court-house, to take into their consideration the present state of the Colony, and America in general; and upon mature deliberation, many of the most respectable freeholders and inhabitants of the county being present, they entered into the following resolutions:

“‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that all allegiance is due to the person and character of the King of Great Britain; and that we acknowledge a Constitutional

dependence on the Parliament, conceiving it not incompatible with the condition of Colonists to submit to commercial regulations in consequence of the protection that is given to our trade by the superintendence of the mother-country; but we apprehend there is a clear distinction between regulations of trade and taxation, and in no degree admit the latter under the colourable denomination of the former, well knowing that the nature of things is not alterable by the changes of terms.

“ ‘Resolved, That representation and taxation are inseparably connected by the essential principles of the British Constitution; and that every attempt of superior power to levy money on the British Americans, otherwise than by the consent of their representatives delivered in Assembly, is an infraction of that Constitution, a violation of the rights of freemen, and a subversion of property.

“ ‘Resolved, That the act imposing a duty on tea, for the avowed purpose of a revenue, is a tax; and that every opposition should be expressed that may move to the repeal of the said act, or that may render its operation inefficacious.

“ ‘Resolved, That the late act of Parliament suspending the trade and shutting up the port of the town of Boston is an alarming circumstance to the Colonies in general, inasmuch as it marks out a settled plan in the British Parliament to enforce submission to their power of taxation.’ ”

Dinwiddie County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a general meeting of the inhabitants of the county of Dinwiddie, at the Court-house, on Friday, the 15th of July, 1774:

“ ‘It was declared, as the result of our opinion upon these violent measures, that we do protest against every law or act of the British legislature that shall authorize the imposition of taxes on the Americans without their consent, which cannot be had in Parliament, as they have no representation, nor ought to have, in that body, from local circumstances and other considerations; and because it is the proper, exclusive, and indefeasible right of every free state, especially under the British form of government, to be taxed only by themselves or their representatives.

“ ‘And whereas, A convention of the late representatives of this Colony was judged expedient, and was appointed after their dissolution to be held the first day of August next at Williamsburg, there to consult upon the most plausible means of avoiding the dangerous precedents of acts of power now intended to be established against us;—to promote on our part this laudable design, we do appoint our late representatives, Robert Bolling and John Banister, Esquires, deputies to act for us on this important occasion, recommending it to them to concert with the deputies from the

other counties a firm and prudent plan of opposition to every invasion of our rights, and particularly to those acts of Parliament we have pointed out. Confiding in their vigilance and attention, we wish them, in their endeavors, the success that so good a cause merits.' ”

Surry County (Va.) Resolutions.

“ At a meeting of a respectable body of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Surry, on due notice, at the Court-house of the said county, the 16th day of July, 1774,

“ Allen Cocke, Esqur., moderator,

“ The proceedings and regulations of the late members of the House of Burgesses, since their dissolution, respecting the alarming situation of North America, were seriously deliberated upon, and the following resolves unanimously agreed to:

“ 1st. Resolved, That we acknowledge all due obedience to his present Majesty, and will defend him with our lives and fortunes.

“ 2d. Resolved, That as British subjects who know the invaluable blessings of their birthright, we will not submit to the imposition of any taxes or duties to be paid by the inhabitants within this dominion by any other power than the General Assembly, duly elected; and that in them, and them only, is the Constitutional right of taxation vested.

“ 3d. Resolved, That we will cheerfully join with our suffering brethren of America in the firmest bonds of union against exporting or importing any commodities to or from Great Britain till our just and legal rights are restored.

“ 4th. Resolved, That the cause of the town of Boston is the common cause of all British America.’ ”

York County (Va.) Resolutions.

“ On Monday, the 18th of July (1774), the freeholders and other inhabitants of York county, Virginia, met, according to public notice, at the Court-house, in York, to consider what was to be done in the present distressed and alarming situation of affairs throughout the British Colonies in America.

“ Thomas Nelson, Junr., Esquire, moderator.

“ It was then unanimously resolved, That as the constitutional Assemblies of Virginia have been prevented from exercising their right of providing for the security of the liberties of the people, that right again reverts to the people as the fountain from whence all power and legislation flow; a right coeval with human nature, and which they claim from the eternal and immutable laws of nature's God.

“ Resolved also, That Dudley Digges and Thomas Nelson,

Jr., Esqrs., do attend the city of Williamsburg on the first day of August next, in a general convention from the other counties in Virginia, there to exert their utmost abilities to put a stop to that growing system of Ministerial despotism which has so long threatened the destruction of America. And that you, our Delegates, may be made acquainted with the sentiments of the people of this county, it is their opinion that you proceed to choose proper persons to represent the Colony of Virginia in a general Congress of America, to meet at such time and place as may be hereafter agreed on.

“ ‘And, further, the people of this county are of opinion that the act of the British Parliament laying a duty on tea for the purpose of raising a revenue to be collected in America, without her consent, is an illegal tax.

“ ‘That the act which blocks up the port of Boston destroys her trade and subjects her inhabitants to the worst of inconveniences and hardships, is oppressive, and unconstitutional;—that the people of Boston incurred the displeasure of Parliament by a just defence of their liberties and properties; and that the cause for which they suffer is the general cause of every British Colony in America.

“ ‘That the bill commonly called the Murdering Bill, if passed into an act, is not only unconstitutional, but shocking to human nature; that its evident design is to privilege the soldiers to commit, with impunity, the most cruel outrages even against the lives of Americans, whilst it cuts off from an accused American every hope of being acquitted.

“ ‘That the most effectual means of obtaining a speedy redress of American grievances is to put a stop to imports from Great Britain, with as few exceptions as possible, until the said oppressive acts be repealed and American rights established; and that what relates to exports be left to the determination of the convention in August.’ ”

Fairfax County (Va.) Resolutions.

“ At a general meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Fairfax, as the Court-house, in the town of Alexandria, on Monday, the 18th day of July, 1774,

“ George Washington, Esq., chairman ;

“ Robert Harrison, Gentleman, clerk, —

“ ‘Resolved, That this Colony and dominion of Virginia cannot be considered as a conquered country, and, if it was, that the present inhabitants are the descendents, not of the conquered, but of the conquerors.

“ ‘That the same was not settled at the national expense of England, but at the private expense of the adventurers, our ancestors, by solemn compact with, and under the auspices and protection of, the British Crown, upon which we are in every respect as dependent as the people of Great Britain, and in the same manner subject to all his Majesty’s just, le-

gal, and constitutional prerogatives; that our ancestors, when they left their native land and settled in America, brought with them, even if the same had not been confirmed by charters, the civil Constitution and form of government of the country they came from, and were, by the laws of Nature and Nations, entitled to all its privileges, immunities, and advantages which have descended to us, their posterity, and ought of right to be as fully enjoyed as if we had still continued within the realm of England.

“Resolved, That the most important and valuable part of the British Constitution, upon which its very existence depends, is the fundamental principle of the people's being governed by no laws to which they have not given their consent by representatives freely chosen by themselves, who are affected by the laws they enact equally with their constituents, to whom they are accountable and whose burthens they share, in which consists the safety and happiness of the community; for if this part of the Constitution was taken away or materially altered, the government must degenerate either into an absolute despotic monarchy or a tyrannical aristocracy, and the freedom of the people be annihilated.

“Resolved, That taxation and representation are, in their nature, inseparable; that the right of withholding or of giving and granting their own money is the only effectual security to a free people against the encroachments of despotism and tyranny; and whenever they yield the one, they must quickly fall a prey to the other.

“Resolved, That there is a premeditated design and system formed and pursued by the British Ministry to introduce an arbitrary government into his Majesty's American dominions; to which end they are artfully prejudicing our sovereign and inflaming the minds of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain by propagating the most malevolent falsehoods, particularly that there is an intention in the American Colonies to set up for independent states, endeavoring at the same time—by various acts of violence and oppression, by sudden and repeated dissolutions of our assemblies, whenever they presume to examine the illegality of Ministerial mandates or deliberate on the violated rights of their constituents, and by breaking in upon the American charters—to reduce us to a state of desperation, and dissolve the original compact by which our ancestors bound themselves and their posterity to remain dependent upon the Crown, which measures, unless effectually counteracted, will end in the ruin of both Great Britain and her Colonies.

“Resolved, That we cordially join with our friends and brethren of this and the other Colonies in such measures as shall be judged most effectual for procuring a redress of our grievances; and that upon obtaining such redress, if the destruction of the tea at Boston be regarded as an invasion

of private property, we shall be willing to contribute towards paying the East India Company the value. But as we consider the said company as the tools and implements of oppression in the hands of government, and the cause of the present distress, it is the opinion of this meeting that the people of these Colonies should forbear any further dealings with them by refusing to purchase their merchandise until that peace, safety, and good order which they have disturbed be perfectly restored; and that all tea now in this Colony, or which shall be imported into it, shipped before the first day of September next, should be deposited in some storehouse to be appointed by the respective committees of each county, until a sufficient sum of money be raised by subscription to reimburse the owners the value, and then to be publicly burnt and destroyed; and if the same is not paid for and destroyed as aforesaid, that it remain in the custody of the said committees, at the risk of the owners, until the act of Parliament imposing a duty upon tea, for raising a revenue in America, be repealed, and immediately afterwards be delivered unto the several proprietors thereof, their agents or attorneys.

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, if American grievances be not redressed before the first day of November, 1775, that all exports of produce from the several Colonies to Great Britain should cease: and to carry the said resolution into execution more effectually, that we will not plant or cultivate any tobacco after the crop now growing, provided the same measure shall be adopted by the other Colonies on this continent, as well those who have heretofore made tobacco, as those who have not.

“And it is our opinion also, if the Congress of deputies from the several Colonies shall adopt the measure of non-exportation to Great Britain, as the people will be thereby disabled from paying their debts, that no judgments should be rendered by the courts in the said Colonies for any debt after information of the said measures being determined upon.

“Resolved, That George Washington, Esq., and Charles Broadwater, Gentleman, lately elected our representatives to serve in the General Assembly, attend the convention at Williamsburg on the first day of August next, and present these resolves as the sense of the people of this county upon the measures proper to be taken in the present alarming and dangerous situation in America.”

Stafford County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Stafford, July, 1774, the following address was agreed to be presented:

"To John Alexander and Charles Carter, Esqrs. :

"GENTLEMEN : You are chosen to convey the sentiments of the freeholders and inhabitants of this county, to a meeting of the agents from every county in the Colony, to be held at Williamsburg on the 1st day of August. Permit us on this occasion to recommend to you a conduct decent, though spirited, animated, yet prudent.

"Resolved, That an exemption from Parliamentary taxation is the clear and undoubted right of the American Colonies ; that this right hath been uniformly claimed and allowed by the King and Parliament of Great Britain from the first settlement of America, and that an attempt to deprive them of this right is both contrary to the laws and Constitution of England, and would reduce the Americans to a slavery the most deplorable and ignominious.

"Resolved, That to surrender the inestimable and unquestioned right, which the people of America have, to be taxed by their representatives only, would be a total departure from the dignity of human nature, and would argue such a baseness of soul as must render them unworthy of the name of British subjects.

"Resolved, That every encroachment made by the British Parliament on the rights of any one of his Majesty's Colonies or plantations in America ought to be looked upon as an infringement upon the just rights and inherent privileges of the whole.

"Resolved, That the only sure and effectual measure to preserve America and disarm the hand of oppression will be to put an entire and immediate stop to all intercourse of trade with Great Britain and the West Indies, and also to the exportation of wheat, flour, provisions, and lumber to any part of Europe."

Elizabeth City County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Elizabeth City, and town of Hampton, assembled at the Court-house, the 25th day of July, 1774, to consider of instructions to our late members, or to those persons who shall be chosen our representatives at the ensuing election ;

"Henry King, Esq., chosen moderator ;

"Mr. Robert Bright, clerk,—

"The following resolves were agreed to :

"1st. That the people of this county and town are strongly attached, from principles and education, to his present Majesty, King George the Third, and his family ; and they will with their lives and fortunes stand by and defend his sacred person, Crown, and dignity.

"Resolved, That the representatives of this Colony have,

and ever ought to have, the sole right of taxing the inhabitants of this Colony; and that the assuming of such a power by the present or any other Parliament of Great Britain should ever be considered as a strong proof of that despotic tyranny which so strongly marks the present administration, and which dictated those late cruel and oppressive acts depriving the good people of the Massachusetts Bay of their dearest and most invaluable rights.

“Resolved, That if a non-importation and -exportation agreement should be thought necessary, that our members be directed to agree thereto.

“Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that a non-importation and -exportation agreement is necessary.

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that any merchant or dealer who advances the price of his goods upon a non-importation agreement ought to be deemed an enemy to his country; and we do most solemnly promise to consider him as such, and to withhold all commercial intercourse with him.

“Resolved, That this meeting highly approve of the glowing zeal of the sister-Colonies upon this trying occasion, and heartily sympathize with their persecuted brethren and fellow-subjects, the people of Boston.

“Resolved, That a subscription for the relief of the unhappy poor of Boston ought to be encouraged by all charitable and humane people, and that the moderator be directed to solicit contributions for that purpose.”

Albemarle County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Albemarle, assembled in their collective body at the Court-house of the said county on the 26th of July, 1774:

“Resolved, That the inhabitants of the several Colonies of British America are subject to the laws which they adopted at their first settlement, and to such others as have since been made by their respective legislatures, duly constituted and appointed with their own consent. That no other legislature whatever can rightfully exercise authority over them; and that these privileges they hold as the common rights of mankind, confirmed by the political constitutions they have respectively assumed, and also by several charters of compact from the Crown.

“Resolved, That these their natural and legal rights have in frequent instances been invaded by the Parliament of Great Britain, and particularly were they so by an act lately passed to take away the trade of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay; that all such assumptions of unlawful power are dangerous to the rights of the British empire in general, and should be considered as its common cause; and that we will ever be ready

to join with our fellow-subjects in every part of the same in executing all those rightful powers which God has given us for the re-establishing and guaranteeing such their Constitution and rights when, where, and by whomsoever invaded.

“It is the opinion of this meeting that the most eligible means of effecting these purposes will be to put an immediate stop to all imports from Great Britain (cotton, osnabrigs, striped duffil, medicines, gunpowder, lead, books, and printed papers, the necessary tools and implements for the handicraft arts and manufactures excepted for a limited term) and to all exports thereto after the 1st day of October, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1775; and immediately to discontinue all commercial intercourse with every part of the British empire which shall not in like manner break off their commerce with Great Britain. It is the opinion of this meeting that we immediately cease to import all commodities from every part of the world which are subjected by the British Parliament to the payment of duties in America.’”

Accomack County (Va.) Resolutions.

“At a meeting of a very respectable body of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Accomack, at the Court-house, July 27, 1774,

“James Henry, Esq., in the chair,

“The meeting, taking into their serious consideration the present critical and alarming condition of this country respecting her present disputes with Great Britain, do unanimously resolve as follows:

“1st. That we do owe and will pay due allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third.

“2d. That all his Majesty’s subjects in America are by birthright entitled to all the rights and immunities of British-born subjects, one of which, and of the greatest importance, is that no tax, aid, tallage, or other imposition shall be laid upon them but by their own consent by their representatives.

“3d. That the town of Boston in our sister-Colony is now suffering in the common cause of American liberty.

“4th. That the powers claimed by the British Parliament, and now carrying into execution against the town of Boston, are fundamentally wrong, and cannot be admitted without the utter destruction of American liberty, and are intended to operate equally against the rights and liberties of the other Colonies.

“5th. That the inhabitants of this county, confiding in the prudence and ability of their representatives who are to meet their brethren at Williamsburg on the 1st day of August next, will cheerfully submit to any measures which may be concluded upon at the said general meeting, as best to be

adopted for restoring harmony between the mother-country and her Colonies.

“ ‘Ordered, That these resolves be forthwith printed.’

“ JOHN POWELL, *Clerk.*”

Princess Anne County (Va.) Resolutions.

“ At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Princess Anne, on due notice given by one of the late representatives, held at the Court-house of the said county on Wednesday, the 27th day of July, 1774, and they, after choosing,

“ Anthony Lawson, Esq., moderator, came to the following resolutions:

“ ‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that it is an absolute right, inherent in every British American subject, to have and enjoy such freedoms and privileges as belong to the free people of England; and that he cannot be taxed but by his own consent or representative.

“ ‘Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that every attempt to impose taxes by any other authority is a tyrannical exertion of power and a violation of the Constitutional and just rights and liberties of the subject; and that the acts for blocking up the harbor of Boston, for altering the chartered Constitution of the Massachusetts Bay, and for the suppression of riots and tumults are cruel and oppressive invasions of the natural rights of the people of the said Province, as men, and of their Constitutional rights as English subjects.

“ ‘Resolved, That the town of Boston and the Province of Massachusetts Bay are now suffering in the common cause of America, as the said acts would lay a foundation for the utter destruction of the rights and liberties of the subjects of British America.

“ ‘Resolved, That our burgesses be hereby instructed to use their utmost endeavors at the ensuing Congress at Williamsburg to procure a general association for stopping all importation from and exportation to Great Britain, except such articles as shall there be agreed upon, as the most effectual means to obtain redress; the non-importation and non-exportation to take place on such future day as may be agreed on by the general Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies.

“ ‘Resolved, That our burgesses be instructed to vote against every motion or proposal for clogging the usual imports from and exports to the West Indies.

“ ‘Resolved, That our burgesses be instructed to oppose the importation of slaves and convicts as injurious to this Colony, by preventing the population of it by freemen and useful manufacturers.’”

Buckingham County (Va.) Resolutions.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Buckingham, at the Court-house, the 28th of July, 1774, they took under their consideration the truly alarming state of the several British Colonies from sundry acts of Parliament, which, if carried into execution, must reduce the whole to an abject state of slavery; at which time they came to the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That we will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, defend his Majesty's right and title to the Crown of Great Britain and his American dominions, against all and every power whatsoever; and that we do acknowledge and profess all due obedience to him.

"Resolved, That we will not pay any tax that is or may be laid by the Parliament of Great Britain for the purpose of raising a revenue in America; our own legislature, with the consent of his Majesty, being one legally vested with a power of laying taxes on the inhabitants of this Colony.

"Resolved, That the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbor of Boston; also one other act for carrying persons to Great Britain or elsewhere to be tried for offences; as also the act for depriving our sister-Colony of Massachusetts Bay of their Charter—are unjust, arbitrary, and unconstitutional; and that we consider an attack on the liberties of one of our sister-Colonies as an attack on the whole of British America."

Augusta County (Va.) Resolutions

" of February 1775.

"After due notice given to the freeholders of Augusta county, to meet in Staunton for the purpose of electing Delegates to represent them in Colony convention at the town of Richmond on the 20th day of March (1775), the freeholders of said county thought proper to refer the choice of their Delegates to the judgment of the committee, who, thus authorized by the general voice of the people, met at the Court-house on the 22d day of February and unanimously chose Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain Samuel McDowell to represent them in the ensuing convention. Instructions were then ordered to be drawn up by the Reverend Alexander Balmain, Mr. Sampson Matthews, Captain Alexander McClenachan, Mr. Michael Bowyer, Mr. William Lewis, and Captain George Matthews, or any of them, and delivered to the delegates then chosen; which are as follows:

To Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain Samuel McDowell :

"The committee of Augusta county, pursuant to the trust reposed in them by the freeholders of the same, have chosen you to represent them in a Colony convention proposed to

be held in Richmond on the 20th of March instant. They desire that you may consider the people of Augusta county as impressed with just sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty King George, whose title to the imperial Crown of Great Britain rests on no other foundation than the liberty, and whose glory is inseparable from the happiness, of all his subjects. We have also a respect for the parent-state, which respect is founded on religion, on law, and the genuine principles of the Constitution. On these principles do we earnestly desire to see harmony and a good understanding restored between Great Britain and America. Many of us and our forefathers left their native land, and explored this once savage wilderness, to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature. These rights we are fully resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve; nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger to any Ministry, to any Parliament, or any body of men upon earth by whom we are not represented and in whose decisions therefore we have no voice."

Virginia Convention.

At a very full meeting of Delegates from the different counties in the Colony and dominion of Virginia, begun in Williamsburg the first day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several adjournments to Saturday the 6th of the same month, the following association was unanimously resolved upon and agreed to:

"1st. We do hereby resolve and declare that we will not either directly or indirectly, after the first day of November next, import from Great Britain any goods, wares, or merchandise whatever, medicines excepted; nor will we, after that date, import any British manufactures either from the West Indies or any other place; nor any articles whatever which we shall know or have reason to believe was brought into such countries from Great Britain; nor will we purchase any such articles so imported of any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country, or such as may arrive on or before the first day of November in consequence of orders already given, and which cannot now be countermanded in time.

"2d. We will neither ourselves import, or purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place.

"3d. Considering the article of tea as the detestable instrument which laid the foundation of the present sufferings of our distressed friends in the town of Boston, we view it with horror; and therefore resolve that we will not from this day either import tea of any kind whatever, nor will

we use or suffer even such of it as is now on hand, to be used in any of our families.

"4th. If the inhabitants of the town of Boston, or any other Colony, should by violence or dire necessity be compelled to pay the East India Company for destroying any tea which they have lately by their agents unjustly attempted to force into the Colonies, we will not directly or indirectly import or purchase any British East India commodity whatever till the company, or some other person on their behalf, shall refund and fully restore to the owners such sum or sums of money as may be extorted.

"5th. We do resolve that, unless American grievances are redressed before the 10th day of August, 1775, we will not after that day directly or indirectly export tobacco or any other articles whatever to Great Britain; nor will we sell any such articles as we think can be exported to Great Britain, with a prospect of gain, to any person or persons whatsoever, with a design of putting it into his or their power to export the same to Great Britain either on our own, his, or their account. And that this resolution may be the more effectually carried into execution, we do hereby recommend it to the inhabitants of this Colony to refrain from the cultivation of tobacco as much as conveniently may be; and in lieu thereof, that they will, as we resolve to do, apply their attention and industry to the cultivation of all such articles as may form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts which we will endeavor to encourage throughout this Colony to the utmost of our abilities."

Hugh Mercer, etc., to Captain Wm. Grayson.

FREDERICKSBURG, VA., April 24, 1775.

"SIR: From undoubted authority, we received here this day morning the very disagreeable intelligence that, in the night of Thursday last, Captain Collins, commander of one of his Majesty's sloops-of-war, by command of his Excellency the Governor, assisted a company of marines, carried off all the powder from the magazine in the city of Williamsburg, and deposited it on board his vessel, which lay at Burwell's Ferry, about five miles below the city.

"The said authority informs us that the corporation of the city of Williamsburg addressed the Governor on that occasion. The people have received no satisfaction; nor are they likely to recover the powder, though it is so necessary for the security of the country. This being a day of meeting of the Independent Company of this town, they considered it necessary to take the matter into serious consideration, and are come to a unanimous resolution that a submission to so arbitrary an exertion of government may not only prejudice the common cause by introducing a sus-

picion of defection of this Colony from the noble pursuit, but will encourage the tools of despotism to commit further acts of violence in this Colony, and more especially subject the arms in the magazine to the same fate as the powder. In these sentiments this Company could but determine that a number of public-spirited gentlemen should embrace this opportunity of showing their zeal in the grand cause by marching to Williamsburg to inquire into this affair, and there to take such steps as may best answer the purpose of recovering the powder and securing the arms now in the magazine. To this end they have determined to hold themselves in readiness to march from this place as light horse on Saturday morning; and in the mean time to submit the matter to the determination of yours and the neighboring counties, to whom expresses are purposely forwarded. We address you in the name of our Company as its officers, and are, sir, your very humble servants.

"HUGH MERCER,

G. WELDON,

"ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD,

JNO. WILLIS.

"TO CAPTAIN WM. GRAYSON."

Captains Grayson and Lee to Colonel Washington.

"DUMFRIES, Ap'l 26, 1775.

"SIR: We have just received a letter from the officers of the Independent Company, of Spottsylvania, which I have herewith enclosed. We immediately called together this company and had the vote put, whether they would march to Williamsburg for the purposes mentioned in that letter, which was carried unanimously.

"We have nothing more to add, but that we are well assured you may depend on them either for that or any other service which respects the liberties of America. We expect your answer and determination by Mr. Davess.

"We have the honor to be, etc.,

"WILLIAM GRAYSON,

"PHIL. RD. FRANS. LEE.

"By order of the Company."

Officers of Albemarle Volunteers to Colonel George Washington.

"CHARLOTTESVILLE, Ap'l 29, 1775.

"SIR: The county of Albemarle in general, and the Gentleman Volunteers in particular, are truly alarmed and highly incensed with the unjustifiable proceedings of Lord Dunmore, who, we are informed, has clandestinely taken possession of our ammunition lodged in the magazine. We should have attended at Fredericksburg, in order to have proceeded to Williamsburg to demand a return of the powder, had the alarm reached us before an account of security being given for its delivery.

"However, to assure you and the world of our readiness and willingness to resent any encroachments of arbitrary power, we now declare to you, should it be necessary, that the First Company of Independents for Albemarle will attend in Williamsburg, properly equipped and prepared to enforce an immediate delivery of powder (if not to be obtained otherwise) or die in the attempt.

"With respect, we remain, ready to obey your commands,

"CHARLES LEWIS, *Captain*;

"GEORGE GILMER, *Lieutenant*;

"JOHN MARKS, *2d Lieutenant*.

"P. S.—The Company will stand under arms all day on Tuesday, waiting your answer."

Meeting of Freeholders of King William County, Virginia.

"At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of King William, at the Court-house, on Monday, the first day of May (1775), Carter Braxton and William Aylett, Esqrs., were unanimously chosen their delegates to represent them in convention for one year from the date thereof. A subscription being then opened for the relief of our brethren in Massachusetts Bay, and it being thought highly necessary at this important crisis that supplies should be sent to them, and, money being the only means by which that relief could be afforded with certainty, the sum of one hundred and seventy-five pounds was immediately contributed, and it is expected that a much larger sum will be given when collections are made from the whole county."

Hanover County (Va.) Committee.

"At a meeting appointed and held for Hanover county, at the Court-house, on Tuesday, the 9th of May, 1775: Present, John Syme, Samuel Overton, William Cranch, Merriwether Skelton, Richard Morris, Benjamin Anderson, John Pendleton, John Robinson, Nelson Berkeley, and George Dabney, Junior.—agreeable to a resolution, of the committee held at New Castle the 2d instant, setting forth that they, being fully informed of the violent hostilities committed by the King's troops in America, and of the danger arising to the Colonies by the loss of the public powder, and of the conduct of the Governor, which threatens altogether calamities of the greatest magnitude and most fearful consequences to this Colony; and therefore recommending reprisals to be made upon the King's property sufficient to replace the gunpowder taken out of the magazine,—it appears to this Committee, the Volunteers, who marched from New Castle to obtain satisfaction for the gunpowder by reprisal or otherwise, proceeded on that business as follows, to wit:

"That an officer with sixteen men was detached to seize the King's receiver-general, with orders to detain him; and

this, it was supposed, might be done without impeding the progress of the main body. The said receiver-general not being apprehended, owing to his absence from home, the said detachment, according to orders, proceeded to join the main body on its march to Williamsburg, and the junction happened on the 3d instant at Doncastle's Ordinary about sunset. A little after sunrise next morning, the commanding officer being assured that proper satisfaction in money should be instantly made, the Volunteers halted, and the proposal, being considered by them, was judged satisfactory as to that point; and the following receipt was given, to wit:

“‘DONCASTLE'S ORDINARY, }
NEW KENT, May 4, 1775. }

“‘Received from the Honourable Richard Corbin, Esq., his Majesty's receiver-general, £330, as a compensation for the powder lately taken out of the public magazine by the Governor's order; which money I promise to convey to the Virginia Delegates at the general Congress, to be under their direction laid out in gunpowder for the Colony's use, and to be stored as they shall direct, until the next Colony convention or General Assembly, unless it shall be necessary in the mean time to use the same in defence of this Colony. It is agreed that in case the next convention shall determine that any part of the said money ought to be returned to his Majesty's receiver-general, that the same shall be done accordingly.

PATRICK HENRY, *Jun'r.*'

“It was then considered that as a general Congress would meet in a few days, and probably a Colony convention would shortly assemble, and that the reprisal now made would amply replace the powder, with the charges of transportation, the commanding officer wrote the following letter and sent by express:

“‘May 4, 1775.

“‘SIR: The affair of the powder is now settled so as to produce satisfaction to me, and, I earnestly wish, to the Colony in general.

“‘The people here have it in charge from the Hanover Committee to tender their services to you as a public officer for the purpose of escorting the public treasury to any place in this Colony where the money would be judged more safe than in the city of Williamsburg. The reprisal now made by the Hanover Volunteers, though accomplished in a manner least liable to the imputation of violent extremity, may possibly be the cause of future injury to the treasury. If, therefore, you apprehend the least danger, a sufficient guard is at your service.

“‘I beg the return of the bearer may be instant, because the men wish to know their destination.

“‘With great respect, I am, sir,

“‘Your most humble servant,

“‘PATRICK HENRY, *Junior.*'”

“To ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS, *Treasurer.*”

"To which answer was received from the said Mr. Nicholas, importing that he had no apprehension of the necessity or propriety of the proffered service. For which reasons, and understanding, moreover, for others, that the private citizens of Williamsburgh were in a great measure quieted from their late apprehensions for their persons and property, the Volunteers judged it best to return home, and did so accordingly in order to await the further directions of the General Congress or Colony Convention.

Augusta County (Va.) Committee.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of that part of Augusta county that lies on the west side of the Laurel Hill, at Pittsburgh, the 16th day of May, 1775,

"Resolved unanimously, That this committee have the highest sense of the spirited behaviour of their brethren in New England, and do most cordially approve of their opposing the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme, and that each member of this committee, respectively, will animate and encourage their neighborhood to follow the brave example.'"

General Washington to Joseph Reed.

(Extract.)

"CAMBRIDGE, February 10, 1776.

"With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accomodation since I heard of the measures which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and if every man was of my mind, the Ministers of Great Britain should know in a few words upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by artful declarations nor specious pretences, nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions,—but in open, undisguised, and manly terms proclaim our wrong, and our resolution to be redressed. I would tell them that we had borne much; that we had ardently long sought for reconciliation upon honorable terms; that it had been denied us; that all our attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been grossly misrepresented; that we had done everything which could be expected from the best of subjects; that the spirit of freedom rises too high in us to submit to slavery; and that if nothing else would satisfy a tyrant and his diabolical Ministry, we are determined to shake off all connections with a state so unjust and unnatural.

"This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness."

Virginia Convention.

“Wednesday, May 15, 1776.

“Present, one hundred and twelve members. . . .

“Wherefore, appealing to the Searcher of hearts for the sincerity of former declarations, expressing our desire to preserve the connection with that nation, and that we are driven from that inclination by their wicked counsels and the eternal laws of self-preservation,—

“Resolved unanimously, That the Delegates appointed to represent this Colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states; absolved from all allegiance to or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of this Colony to such declaration and to whatever measure may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the Colonies at such time and in the manner as to them shall seem best: provided that the power of forming government for and regulations for the internal concerns of the Colony be left to the respective Colonial legislatures.

“Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this Colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.

EDMUND PENDELTON, *President.*”

NORTH CAROLINA.

The people of North Carolina, like those of Massachusetts, had from the earliest times regarded England rather as a cruel step-mother than as a loving parent. The Colony, for the greater part of a century, was under a government of lords proprietors, whose interest in the inhabitants was that of absentee landlords, and whose care for their welfare consisted in sending out their needy and profligate relations and dependents to govern them. The transfer of the Colony to the Crown, in 1729, by increasing official responsibility, was a great advantage, but it was far from insuring good government and a contented people.

“The civil and military officers of the Crown in America,” says Bancroft, “were nearly all men of British birth, who had obtained their places for the sake of profit, and had no higher object than to augment and assure their gains. For this reason they wished to become independent of Colonial legislatures for their support, and to strengthen the delegated executive power.” He speaks of Tryon “as the able but selfish Tryon, who, under a smooth exterior, concealed the heart of a savage.” Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, and Hutchinson and Oliver, who held more

than one each of the highest offices in the Colony, including judgeships, "with perseverance equalled only by their duplicity, sought to increase their emoluments to free themselves from 'their dependence on the people for a necessary support,' and consolidate their authority by the presence of a small standing army."

It has already been explained that the corruption and tyranny practised by the officers of the law had produced the rebellion of the Regulators, which was suppressed in blood in 1771; and that the part taken by the gentlemen of the low country in that affair, against their humbler fellow-subjects of the hills, had the effect of alienating thousands of the latter from the cause of the Revolution. And if this unfortunate affair had not occurred at that time, the Colony would have been as nearly unanimous for independence as New England. But in spite of it, North Carolina was ever among the most forward to defend the common cause. Entirely engaged in agriculture, and thus secluded from the world, her people felt the weight of the British taxes but slightly; and their enthusiasm for the invaded right of the Colonies to tax themselves was inspired by devotion to the principle, and by generous sympathy with their suffering brethren farther North, rather than by the grievance they suffered.

The act of Parliament of 1766, to take effect in June, 1767, for laying duties on tea, glass, paints, oils, and paper, re-awakened the spirit of resistance throughout the Colonies which had been so effective when the Stamp Act was passed. The following account of the action of the Assembly on this occasion is from Williamson's history:

"This revenue law was opposed, as the second had been, by resolutions, petitions, and remonstrances. The British Ministry in the mean time used their utmost endeavors to prevent a general association of the Colonies. For this purpose Governor Tryon, according to his instructions, assured the Assembly (twenty-third October, 1769) that, 'notwithstanding cruel reports, his Majesty had no desire to lay further burdens on America, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that he would propose to Parliament, next session, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colors, as laid contrary to the principles of commerce.'"

As the right of imposing taxes by Parliament was generally denied in the Colonies, the Assembly were little gratified by a Ministerial declaration which retained the right of taxing, while it temporized by shifting the objects. With this view they were unanimous, eighty members being present, in resolving,—

"That the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of North Carolina has ever been vested in the House of Assembly.

"That the inhabitants have the undoubted right of petitioning for a redress of grievances.

"That the trials for treasons committed in the Colony ought to be had here; and removing suspected persons to be tried beyond the sea is derogatory to the rights of a British subject."

The Assembly at the same time prepared a petition of similar import to be forwarded to the King, through their agent in London.

The Governor, next day, 4th November, 1769, informed the house that, looking over their journals, he found resolutions that "had sapped the foundation of confidence and gratitude;" wherefore it became his duty to dissolve the Assembly. He dissolved them accordingly.

Wilmington (N. C.) Resolutions.

"At a general meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Wilmington, in the Province of North Carolina, held at the town of Wilmington, July 21, 1774,

"William Hooper, Esq., chairman,—

"Resolved, That Colonel James Moore, John Ancrum, Frederick Jones, Samuel Ashe, Robert Howe, Robert Hogg, Francis Clayton, and Archibald Maclain, Esqrs., be a committee to prepare a circular-letter to the several counties of this Province, expressive of the sense of the inhabitants of this district with respect to the several acts of Parliament lately made for the oppression of our sister-Colony of the Massachusetts Bay for having exerted itself in defence of the Constitutional rights of America.

"Resolved, That it will be highly expedient that the several counties of this Province should send deputies to attend a general meeting at Johnston Court-house on the 20th day of August next, then and there to debate upon the present alarming state of British America, and, in concert with the other Colonies, to adopt and prosecute such measures as will most effectually tend to avert the miseries that threaten us.

"Resolved, That we are of opinion, in order to effect an uniform plan for the conduct of all North America, that it will be necessary that a general Congress be held, and that deputies should there be present from the several Colonies, fully informed of the sentiments of those in whose behalf they appear, that such regulations may then be made as will tend most effectually to produce an alteration in the British policy, and to bring about a change honorable and beneficial to all America.

"Resolved, That we have the most grateful sense of the spirited conduct of Maryland, Virginia, and all the other northern Provinces, and also the Province of South Carolina, upon this interesting occasion, and will with our purses and persons concur with them in all loyal measures that

may be conceived by the Colonies in general as most expedient in order to bring about the end which we earnestly wish for.

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that Philadelphia will be the most proper place for holding the American Congress, and the 20th day of September the most suitable time; but in this we submit our own to the general convenience of the other Colonies.

“Resolved, That we consider the cause of the town of Boston as the common cause of British America, and the inhabitants thereof as suffering in the defence of the rights of the Colonies in general; and that therefore we have, in proportion to our abilities, sent a supply of provisions for the indigent inhabitants of that place, thereby to express our sympathy in their sufferings, and as an earnest of our sincere intentions to contribute by every means in our power to alleviate their distress, and to induce them to maintain, with prudence and firmness, the glorious cause in which they are at present embarked.’

“WILMINGTON, July 27.

“In a former paper we observed a subscription had been opened here in behalf of such people in Boston as are deprived by the stoppage wantonly put to the trade of that place, of the usual means of subsisting themselves and their families; we now observe with particular pleasure that several widow ladies of this town have contributed very liberally to that benevolent design.”

Halifax County (N. C.) Committee Resolutions.

“At a meeting of the committee for the said county on the 21st day of December, 1774, present: William Jones, chairman; Nicholas Long, John Bradford, James Hagan, Benjamin McCulloch, Joseph John Williams, William Alston, Egbert Haywood, David Sumner, Samuel Weldon, and Thomas Haynes;

“It being represented to the committee that Mr. Andrew Miller, merchant in Halifax town, refused to sign the Association,—

“Ordered, That Mr. Egbert Haywood and Mr. Thomas Haynes wait on him, and desire his attendance before this committee,

“Upon which he attended accordingly, refused to sign, and gave the following reasons, to wit:

“For that I am largely indebted, and have effects in my hands belonging, to persons residing in Great Britain; which debts and effects I cannot remit for by next September, after which, I should be bound by this Association not to export any merchandise or commodity whatever to that country, without certain laws are repealed which I think would be unjust, as it may be out of the power of my creditors or friends to procure the repeal of any law, however willing

they may be to exert their interest for that purpose; and as I think it unjust to withhold from any person (even in a country at war with this) the property which might belong to him in my hands, I must therefore object to signing that part of the Association respecting a non-exportation to Britain, and shall continue to do so while I have any property in my hands belonging to people of that country.'

"Since, therefore, there is nothing peculiar or satisfactory in his reasons, but that, on the contrary, they indicate an intention to export (if he can) after the first day of September next,—

"Resolved unanimously, to show our disapprobation of his conduct, and to encourage such merchants as have signed the Association, That we will not, from this day, purchase any goods, wares, or merchandise of any kind whatever from said Andrew Miller, or any person acting for or in partnership with him; and that we will have no commerce or dealing with him, after paying our just debts and fulfilling the contracts already entered into for commodities of this year's produce; and we also recommend it to the people of this county in particular, and to all who wish well to their country, to adopt the same measure.'

"Signed by order of the same Committee,

"A. DAVIS, *Clerk.*"

Governor Martin.

In 1775, Governor Martin was charged with having given encouragement to the slaves to revolt. June 24th, he addressed a letter from Fort Johnston to Lewis H. de Rossett, Esq., a member of the Council, in which he emphatically denies the charge, but adds "that nothing could ever justify the design, falsely imputed to me, of giving encouragement to the negroes, 'but the actual and declared rebellion of the King's subjects, and the failure of all other means to maintain the King's government.'"

This answer was only a mitigation of the charge, and brought forth the indignant denunciation of the Newbern Committee, which is signed by Richard Cogdell, Esq., a distinguished Whig of that town. Martin, at the time of writing this letter, was a refugee from the real or apprehended vengeance of the people of the Colony.

"NEWBERN (N. C.), August 5, 1775.

"By a gentleman just come to town from Cape Fear, we have a certain account that the armed force which lately went down to burn Fort Johnston have effected the same by destroying all the houses and rendering the fortress entirely useless. Captain Collet, who commanded that fort, it is said, had a number of slaves, which he had instigated to revolt from their masters, actually concealed in the fort,

which were again recovered by their several owners. For this treachery they burnt his dwelling-house, with all his furniture and everything valuable he had not time to get on board the man-of-war."

Northampton Co. (N. C.) Committee.

At a meeting of the committee of the county aforesaid, the 5th day of August, 1775, the Rev. Mr. Charles Edward Taylor, chairman:

"This committee, taking into their consideration the clandestine manner of Anthony Warwick's conveying powder from Virginia to Hillsborough, and also examining witnesses and papers relative thereto, do,—

"Resolve, That the said Anthony Warwick has violated the association in a flagrant manner, and showed himself in the highest degree an enemy to the rights and liberties of America; and the committee do consider him as an object to be held in the utmost detestation by all lovers of American freedom.

"Ordered, That the clerk of this committee do transmit a copy of the above resolve to Dixon and Hunter, to be published in their *Gazette*.

"EATON HAYNES, *Clerk to Committee.*"

Anson County (N. C.).

The Tories of Anson County, 227 in number, addressed a letter of some length to the royal Governor, Martin, in which they express their "disapprobation and abhorrence of the many lawless combinations and unwarrantable practices actually carrying on by a gross tribe of infatuated anti-monarchists in the several Colonies of these dominions," etc.

The names are not attached to the printed copy in the American Archives.

The Tories of Guilford county addressed a letter of similar import to Governor Martin, said to have been signed by 116 inhabitants of the county. They say, "and we, being a poor and unhappy people, lying under the reflection of the late insurrection, we therefore have taken this opportunity to show forth our loyalty," etc. In other words, they were the Regulators, who had been subdued by the aid of the leading Whigs a few years prior to the date of the letter.

One hundred and ninety-five of the inhabitants of Rowan and Surry counties sent up a similar letter, protesting their loyalty to the Crown, and their abhorrence of the measures of resistance to British tyranny. They were doubtless all of the class of Regulators.

Convention at Newbern.

"April 6, 1775.

"Mr. Thomas Macknight, a Delegate of the county of Currituck, having been called upon to sign (with the other members of the convention) the Association approved of by the Continental Congress, thereupon refused, and withdrew himself.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention that, from the disingenuous and equivocal behaviour of the said Thomas Macknight, it is manifest his intentions are inimical to the cause of American liberty; and we do hold him up as a proper object of contempt to this continent, and recommend that every person break off all connection and have no more future commercial intercourse or dealings with him.

"Resolved, That the above resolve be published in the gazettes of this and the neighboring Colonies.

"A true copy from the minutes.

"Attested by

ANDREW KNOX, *Clerk.*"

The colleagues of Mr. Macknight, from Currituck, and also the representatives from Pasquotank, protested against the injustice which they said was done that gentleman; but their protest was not allowed to go on the journal, and the consequence was that they withdrew from the meeting, although pledging their adherence to the continental agreement.

"NEWBERN, April 12, 1775.

"The Governor and Council order that the name of John Harvey, Esq., be stricken from Commission of the Peace of Perquimans Co., in consequence of his having presided as moderator of the Convention at Newbern."

Circular-letter from the Wilmington Committee to the freeholders of the several counties of the Province of North Carolina:

"GENTLEMEN: At this conjuncture of British politics, when the liberty and property of North American subjects are at stake; when the schemes of a designing Minister are so far matured to action that the port of Boston is shut up, that the Charter of Massachusetts Bay is cruelly infringed, and its government converted into one nearly military,—to be silent would be insidious.

"To avoid such an imputation to this part of the Province, we, the subscribers, appointed a Committee of Correspondence for the town and district of Wilmington, at a most respectable meeting of the freeholders of this district, by their express command, take this earliest opportunity of acquainting you with their resolutions, a copy of which we now enclose you; and request that you would send the

members already by you elected to represent you in the General Assembly, or such other persons whom you shall approve of, to appear as your deputies at the Court-house of Johnston county, on the 20th day of August next, possessed of the sentiments of those in whose behalf they attend, and with full power to express it as obligatory on the future conduct of the inhabitants of this Province, and then and there to consult and determine what may be necessary to the general welfare of America and of this Province.

"We at the same time take the liberty to inform you that there has been set on foot a subscription for the relief of the poor artizans and laborers of the town of Boston, precluded by one of the before-mentioned measures of the British Minister from following their respective occupations; and we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the generous contribution of the inhabitants which has put it in our power to load a vessel with provisions which will sail this week for the port of Salem.

"We rely upon your sending an immediate answer to these our proposals, and, wishing you success in all your efforts for the support of the Constitutional liberties of America, permit us to subscribe ourselves," etc.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Wilmington, N. C., to his friend in Boston, dated August 2, 1774:

"As to public matters, I shall likewise please you when I inform you that a patriotic spirit possesses every bosom, which all ranks of persons seem emulous to express by actions as well as words. Even those few from whom another conduct was expected, have surprised the world by a zeal for the service of their suffering brethren in Boston, and a liberality in contributing to their relief, which till this occasion gave them an opportunity of displaying, scarce anybody supposed them capable of. A subscription having been set on foot for the support of the Bostonians (suffering nobly in the common cause of America), a very few days, from a few individuals, produced as much as loaded the vessel by which this letter comes; and by this time, I have no doubt, enough is collected to load another. Nor is this all; for there is apparent in almost every individual a proper sense of the injury done to the Colonies, in the tendency of those oppressive acts of Parliament, and a determined spirit of opposition and resentment worthy of a humane bosom in the great cause of liberty.

"A numerous and respectable meeting of the six counties in the district of Wilmington has been had, and they have, without one dissenting voice, resolved upon pursuing every legal and rightful measure to aid and assist their sister-Colony of the Massachusetts Bay to the utmost of their power; and have sent expresses to every county in the Province, strictly recommending a subscription in each of them

for the same purpose. A general meeting of all the members of the Assembly is to be held in a few days at Johnston Court-house, to elect Delegates to attend the general Congress at Philadelphia the first Monday in September."

Extract of a letter received at Boston from Wilmington, N. C., dated August 3, 1774:

"No sooner was a subscription put about for the relief of our suffering brethren in Boston than in a few days, I am told, two thousand pounds in currency was raised; and it is expected something very considerable will be contributed at Newbern and Edenton for the same noble purpose, as subscriptions are set on foot in every county in the Province.

"You will receive this by Mr. Parker Quince, who generously made an offer of his vessel to carry a load of provisions to Boston, freight free; and what redounds to the honor of the tars, the master and mariners navigate her without receiving one farthing wages. It is supposed Lord North will hang himself with his rope of sand."

Privy Council at Newbern.

"At a Privy Council held at Newbern the 12th of August, 1774, present: His Excellency the Governor, the honorable James Hasell, Lewis H. de Rossett, John Sampson, William Dry, and Samuel Cornell, Esqrs.,—his Excellency the Governor addressed the honorable members of this board as follows:

"GENTLEMEN OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL: "I have heard with the greatest concern, and I have read in public newspapers and handbills, of invitations to the people in the several counties and towns of this Province to meet together to express their sentiments on acts lately passed by the Parliament of Great Britain, and to appoint deputies to attend on their behalf (with powers obligatory of the future conduct of the inhabitants of this Province), at a meeting that I understand is to be held here on the 25th instant.

"I also find that meetings of the freeholders and inhabitants have been accordingly already held in some places, at which resolves have been entered into derogatory to the dignity of his Majesty and his Parliament, and tending to excite clamour and discontent among the King's subjects in this Province.

"Under these circumstances, gentlemen, I consider it my indispensable duty to his Majesty and this country to advise with you the measures most proper to be taken to discourage or prevent these assemblies of the people, which are so inconsistent with the peace and good order of this government; whose professed purposes will appear at least highly indecent and have an evident tendency to draw his Majesty's displeasure on this Province, already laboring

under the most grievous and disgraceful circumstances for want of a just and effectual civil polity.'

"The Council desired to take time maturely to consider the subject of the above address till to-morrow morning. The Governor finding that during the absence of Mr. Howard, the circumstances of things rendered the temporary appointment of a Chief Justice necessary, recommended the Honourable Mr. Hasell for such appointment, who was unanimously approved."

"At a Privy Council held at Newbern, 13th August, 1774, present: His Excellency the Governor, the honorable James Hasell, Lewis H. de Rossett, John Sampson, William Dry, and Samuel Cornell, Esqrs.,

"The members of the Council having maturely considered the matters laid before them yesterday by the Governor, unanimously concurred in advice to his Excellency, to issue a proclamation forthwith, to discourage and prevent the meetings and assemblies of the people of this Province mentioned in the Governor's address of yesterday, and that they do not discern that any other measures can be properly taken on the occasion at present."

"NORTH CAROLINA. ss.:

"By his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esquire, Captain, General, Governor, and Commander-in-chief in and over the said Province:

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, It appears to me that meetings and assemblies of the inhabitants of this Province have been in some of the counties and towns thereof already held, and are in others appointed to be held, without any legal authority, and that resolves have been entered into and plans concerted (in such meetings as are passed) derogatory to his Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain; and that, there is reason to apprehend, the same inflammatory, disloyal, and indecent measures may be adopted in such future assemblies, inconsistent with the peace and good order of this government, and tending to excite clamour and discontent among his Majesty's subjects in this Province: I have thought fit, with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council, to issue this proclamation, to discourage as much as possible proceedings so illegal and unwarrantable in their nature, and in their effect so obviously injurious to the welfare of this country.

"And to this end I do hereby strictly require and enjoin on their allegiance, all and every his Majesty's subjects, to forbear to attend at any such illegal meetings, and that they do discharge and prevent the same by all and every means in their power, and, more particularly, that they do forbear to attend and prevent, as far as in them lies, the meeting of

certain deputies said to be appointed to be held at Newbern on the 25th instant. And I do more especially charge, require, and command all and every his Majesty's justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other officers to be aiding and assisting herein to the utmost of their power. Given under my hand and the great seal of the said Province, at Newbern, the 13th day of August, 1774, and in the fourteenth of his Majesty's reign.

"God save the King.

JO. MARTIN."

"At a Council held at Newbern the 25th August, 1774, Present: His Excellency the Governor, the Honorable James Hasell, John Rutherford, Lewis H. de Rossett, John Sampson, William Dry, and Samuel Cornell, Esquires,—

"The Governor signified to the board that this was the day appointed for the meeting, of certain persons called deputies, from the several counties and towns of the Province, at this place, and many of them were accordingly come to town; and desired the advice of the Council whether he could take any further measures than those he had taken pursuant to their advice on the 13th instant, when they were unanimously of opinion that no other steps could be properly taken at this conjuncture."

North Carolina Convention.

The Journal of the Proceedings of the first Provincial Convention of North Carolina, held at Newbern on the 24th day of August, A.D. 1774:

"NORTH CAROLINA. ss.:

"At a general meeting of deputies of the inhabitants of this Province at Newbern, the 25th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four:

"Appeared for,—

"Anson Co., Mr. Samuel Spencer, Wm. Thomas; Beaufort Co., Roger Ormond, Thos. Respass, Jr.; Bladen Co., Wm. Salter, Walter Gibson; Bute Co., Wm. Person, Green Hill; Brunswick Co., Robert Howe; Bertie Co., John Campbell; Craven Co., James Coor, Lemuel Hatch, Joseph Leech, Richard Cogdell; Carteret Co., William Thompson; Currituck Co., Sol. Perkins, Nathan Rayner, Samuel Jarvis; Chowan Co., Sam'l Johnston, Thos. Oldham, Thos. Benbury, Thos. Jones, Thos. Hunter; Cumberland Co., Farquard Campbell, Thos. Rutherford; Dobbs Co., Richard Caswell, Wm. McKinnie, George Miller, Simon Bright; Duplin Co., Thos. Gray, Thos. Hicks, Jas. Kenan, William Dickson; Granville Co., Thos. Person, Memucan Hunt; Hyde Co., Rothias Latham, Sam'l Smith; Halifax Co., Nicholas Long, Willie Jones; Johnston Co., Needham Bryan, Benj. Williams; Mecklenburgh Co., Benj. Patton; Martin Co., Edmund Smythwick; New Han-

over Co., John Ashe, Wm. Hooper; Northampton Co., Allen Jones; Orange Co., Thomas Hart; Onslow Co., Wm. Gray; Perquimans Co., Jno. Harvey, Benj. Harvey, Andrew Knox, Thos. Harvey, Jno. Whedbee, Jr.; Pasquotank Co., Joseph Jones, Ed. Everigin, Joseph Reading; Pitt Co., Jno. Simpson, Edward Salter; Rowan Co., Wm. Kennon, Moses Winslow, Sam'l Young; Tryon Co., David Jenkins, Robt. Alexander; Tyrrell Co., Joseph Spruill, Jere'm Fraser; Newbern-town, Abner Nash, Isaac Edwards; Edentontown, Joseph Hewes; Wilmingtontown, Francis Clayton; for the town of Bath, Wm. Brown; for the town of Halifax, Jno. Geddy.

"The deputies then proceeded to make choice of a moderator, when Colonel John Harvey was unanimously chosen, and Mr. Andrew Knox appointed clerk. The meeting then adjourned till eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

"Friday, August 26, 1774.

"The meeting met according to adjournment:

"Mr. Hewes, one of the members of the Committee of Correspondence, presented several letters from the Committees of Correspondence of the other Colonies in America, and the several answers thereto, which, on motion, were ordered to be read. And after the most mature deliberation had thereon,—

"Resolved, That three Delegates be appointed to attend the general Congress to be held at Philadelphia some time in September next."

"The meeting adjourned till eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

"Saturday, August 27, 1774.

"The meeting met according to adjournment, and came to the following resolutions, to wit:

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the deputies from the several counties and towns of the Province of North Carolina, impressed with the most sacred respect for the British Constitution, and resolved to maintain the succession of the House of Hanover, as of law established, and avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity to our sovereign, and entertaining a sincere regard for our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, viewing with the utmost abhorrence every attempt which may tend to disturb the peace and good order of this Colony, or to shake the fidelity of his Majesty's subjects resident here; but at the same time conceiving it a duty which we owe to ourselves and posterity, in the present alarming state of British America, when our most essential rights are invaded by powers unwarrantably assumed by the Parliament of Great Britain, to declare our sentiments in the most public manner, lest silence should be construed as acquiescence, and that we patiently submit to the burthen which they have thought fit to impose upon us:

"Resolved, That his Majesty George the Third is lawful

and rightful King of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging, and of this Province as part thereof, and that we do bear faithful and true allegiance unto him as our lawful sovereign; that we will to the utmost of our power maintain and defend the succession of the House of Hanover, as by law established, against the open or private attempts of any person or persons whatsoever.

“Resolved, That we claim no more than the rights of Englishmen, without diminution or abridgment; that it is our indispensable duty, and will be our constant endeavor, to maintain those rights to the utmost of our power consistently with the loyalty we owe our sovereign, and a sacred regard for the British Constitution.

“Resolved, It is of the very essence of the British Constitution that no subject should be taxed but by his own consent, freely given by himself in person, or by his legal representatives; and that any other than such a taxation is highly derogatory to the rights of a subject and a gross violation of the grand Charter of our liberties.

“Resolved, That as the British subjects resident in North America have not, nor can have, any representation in the Parliament of Great Britain, therefore any act of Parliament imposing a tax upon them is illegal and unconstitutional; and that our Provincial Assemblies, the King, by his Governors, constituting one branch thereof, solely and exclusively possess that right.

“Resolved, That the duties imposed by several acts of the British Parliament upon tea and other articles consumed in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, are highly illegal and oppressive; and that the late exportation of tea by the East India Company to different parts of America was intended to give effect to one of the said acts and thereby establish a precedent highly dishonourable to America, and to obtain an implied assent to the powers, which Great Britain had unwarrantably assumed, of levying a tax upon us without our consent.

“Resolved, That the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Province have distinguished themselves in a manly support of the rights of America in general; and that the cause in which they now suffer is the cause of every honest American who deserves the blessings which the Constitution holds forth to them; that the grievances under which the town of Boston labors at present are the effect of a resentment levelled at them for having stood foremost in the opposition to measures which must eventually have involved all British America in a state of abject dependence and servitude.

“Resolved, The act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Act, as it tends to shut up the port of Boston, and thereby effectually destroy its trade and deprive the merchants and manufacturers of a subsistence which they

have hitherto procured by an honest industry; as it takes away the wharfs, quays, and other property of many citizens by rendering it useless to them; and as the duration of this act depends upon circumstances founded merely in opinion, and in that nature indeterminate, and thereby may make the miseries it carries with it even perpetual,—therefore, that it is the most cruel infringement of the rights and privileges of the people of Boston, both as men and members of the British Government.

“Resolved, That the late act of Parliament for regulating the police of that Province is an infringement of the Charter right granted them by their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, and tends to lessen that sacred confidence which ought to be placed in the acts of kings.

“Resolved, That trial by juries of the vicinity is the only lawful inquest that can pass upon the life of a British subject; and that it is a right handed down to us from the earliest ages, confirmed and sanctified by Magna Charta itself, that no freemen shall be taken and imprisoned or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed or banished, or in any wise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and therefore all who suffer otherwise are not victims to public justice, but fall a sacrifice to the powers of tyranny and high-handed oppression.

“Resolved, That the bill for altering the administration of justice in certain criminal cases within the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as it empowers the Governors thereof to send to Great Britain for trial all persons who, in aid of his Majesty’s officers, shall commit any capital offence, is fraught with the highest injustice and partiality, and will tend to produce frequent bloodshed of the inhabitants, as this act furnishes an opportunity to commit the most atrocious crimes, with the greatest probability of impunity.

“Resolved, That we will not directly or indirectly, after the first day of January, 1775, import from Great Britain any East India goods or any merchandise whatever, medicines excepted; nor will we after that day import from the West Indies or elsewhere any East India or British goods or manufactures, nor will we purchase any such articles so imported of any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country or may arrive on or before the first day of January, 1775.

“Resolved, That unless American grievances are redressed before the first day of October, 1775, we will not after that day directly or indirectly export tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, or any other article whatever to Great Britain; nor will we sell any such articles as we think can be exported to Great Britain with a prospect of gain to any person or persons whatsoever, with a design of putting it in his or their

power to export the same to Great Britain, either on our own, his, or their account.

“Resolved, That we will not import any slave or slaves, or purchase any slave or slaves imported or brought into this Province by others, from any part of the world after the first day of November next.”

“Resolved, That we will not use nor suffer East India tea to be used in our families after the tenth day of September next; and that we will consider all persons in this Province, not complying with this resolve, to be enemies to their country.

“Resolved, That the venders of merchandise within this Province ought not to take advantage of the resolves relating to non-importation in this Province or elsewhere; but ought to sell their goods and merchandise which they have, or may hereafter import, at the same rates they have been accustomed to sell them within three months last past.

“Resolved, That the people of this Province will break off all trade, commerce, and dealing, and will not maintain any the least trade, dealing, or commercial intercourse, with any Colony on this continent, or with any city or town, or with any individual in such Colony, city, or town, which shall refuse, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as shall be agreed to in the Continental Congress.

“Resolved, That we approve of the proposal of a general Congress to be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 20th of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breaches made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under the same sanction of public authority.

“Resolved, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, and every of them, be deputies to attend such Congress; and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any act done by them or consent given in behalf of this Province, obligatory in honour upon every inhabitant thereof who is not alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the liberties of America.

“Resolved, That they view the attempts made by the Ministry upon the town of Boston as a prelude to a general attack upon the rights of the other Colonies; and that upon the success of this depends, in a great measure, the happiness of America in its present race, and in posterity; and that therefore it becomes our duty to contribute, in proportion to our abilities, to ease the burthen imposed upon that town for their virtuous opposition to the revenue acts, that they may be enabled to persist in a prudent and manly opposition

to the schemes of Parliament, and render its dangerous designs abortive.

“Resolved, That liberty is the spirit of the British Constitution, and that it is the duty, and will be the endeavor, of us as British Americans, to transmit this happy Constitution to our posterity in a state, if possible, better than we found it; and that to suffer it to undergo a change which may impair that invaluable blessing would be to disgrace those ancestors who, at the expense of their blood, purchased those privileges which their degenerate posterity are too weak or too wicked to maintain inviolate.

“Resolved, That at every future Provincial meeting, when any division shall happen, the method to be observed shall be to vote by the counties and towns (having a right to send members to Assembly) that shall be represented at every such meeting; and it is recommended to the deputies of the several counties that a committee of five persons be chosen for each county, by such persons as accede to this association, to take effectual care that these resolves be properly observed, and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence of this Province.

“Resolved, That each and every county in this Province raise as speedily as possible the sum of twenty pounds Proclamation money, and pay the same into the hands of Richard Caswell, Esq., to be by him equally divided among the deputies appointed to attend the general Congress at Philadelphia, as a recompense for their trouble and expense in attending the said Congress.

“Resolved, That the moderator of this meeting, and, in case of his death, Samuel Johnston, Esq., be empowered, on any future occasion that may in his opinion require it, to convene the several deputies of this Province, which now or hereafter shall be chosen, at such time and place as he shall think proper; and, in case of the death or absence of any deputy, it is recommended that another be chosen in his stead.

“Resolved, That the following be instructions for the deputies appointed to meet in general Congress on the part of this Colony, to wit:

“That they express our sincere attachment to our most gracious sovereign, King George the Third, and our determined resolution to support his lawful authority in the Province; at the same time, that we cannot depart from a steady adherence to the first law of nature—a firm and resolute defence of our persons and properties against all unconstitutional encroachments whatsoever.

“That they assert our right to all the privileges of British subjects, particularly that of paying no taxes or duties but with our own consent; and that the legislature of this Prov-

ince have the exclusive power of making laws to regulate our internal polity, subject to his Majesty's disallowance.

"That, should the British Parliament continue to exercise the power of levying taxes and duties on the Colonies, and making laws to bind them in all cases whatsoever, such laws must be highly unconstitutional and oppressive to the inhabitants of British America, who have not, and from their local circumstances cannot, have a fair and equal representation in the British Parliament; and that these disadvantages must be greatly enhanced by the misrepresentation of designing men, inimical to the Colonies, the influence of whose reports cannot be guarded against by reason of the distance of America from them, or, as has been unhappily experienced in the case of the town of Boston, when the ears of the administration have been shut against every attempt to vindicate a people who claimed only the right of being heard in their own defence.

"That, therefore, until we obtain an explicit declaration and acknowledgment of our rights, we agree to stop all imports from Great Britain after the first day of January, 1775; and that we will not export any of our commodities to Great Britain after the first day of October, 1775.

"That they concur with the deputies or Delegates from the other Colonies in such regulations, addresses, or remonstrances as may be deemed most probable to restore a lasting harmony and good understanding with Great Britain—a circumstance we most sincerely and ardently desire; and that they agree with the majority of them in all necessary measures for promoting a redress of such grievances as may come under their consideration.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Honorable John Harvey, Esq., moderator, for his faithful exercises of that office and the services he has thereby rendered to this Province and the friends of America in general."

JOHN HARVEY, *Moderator.*"

Association Signed by Ladies of Edenton, N. C.

"October 25, 1774.

"As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion to that which appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country; and as it has been thought necessary, for the public good, to enter into several particular resolves by a meeting of numbers of deputies from the whole Province—it is a duty that we owe, not only to our near and dear relations and connections, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our power, to testify our sincere adherence to the same: and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper as a witness of our fixed intention and solemn determination to do so."

Signed by fifty-one ladies,

On the advice of the Council, Governor Martin issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas, I have received information that, in consequence of an advertisement, signed John Harvey, moderator, some time since published and dispersed through this Province, sundry persons have been elected by a small number of freeholders in the several counties, to meet in convention in the town of Newbern on this day for the choice of deputies to represent this Colony in a Congress intended to be held at the city of Philadelphia, in the month of May next; and whereas, The meeting of such convention, and the declared purpose thereof, will be highly offensive to the King and dishonorable to the general Assembly of this Province, which is appointed to sit at this time for the dispatch of public business: I have thereof thought fit, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, to issue this proclamation hereby in the King's name, to forbid the holding of the said convention. And I do exhort all his Majesty's subjects, on their allegiance, and on pain of incurring his Majesty's high displeasure, to withdraw themselves from the same, and to desist from all such illegal, unwarrantable, and dangerous proceedings.

"Given, etc., the 3d day of April, 1775.

"God save the King.

JO. MARTIN."

The convention met nevertheless, and was composed mainly of the members of the Assembly, which was to meet two days later at the same place. The following resolution of the Assembly led to its instant prorogation:

"Resolved, That the House do highly approve of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, lately held at Philadelphia; and that they are determined, as members of the community in general, that they will strictly adhere to the said resolutions, and will use what influence they have to induce the same observance in every individual of this Colony.

"This House, having received information that William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, were appointed, by the convention held at Newbern, as Delegates to attend the meeting of the Continental Congress soon to be held at Philadelphia,—

"Resolved, That the House approve of the choice made by the said convention.

"Resolved, That the thanks of the House be given to William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, for the faithful and judicious discharge of the important trust reposed in them as Delegates for this Colony at the late Continental Congress."

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber, the 7th of April, 1775, in the evening, present: His Excellency the

Governor, the Honorable James Hasell, John Rutherford, Lewis H. de Rossett, Alexander McCulloch, Samuel Strudwick, Martin Howard, Samuel Cornell, and Thomas McGuire, Esquires;

"His Excellency laid before the board the Journals of the House of Assembly, in which was contained, amongst other unwarrantable proceedings, the following resolve:

"Resolved, That the House do highly approve of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, lately held at Philadelphia, and that they are determined, as members of the community in general, that they will strictly adhere to the said resolutions, and will use what influence they have to induce the same observance in every individual in this Colony."

"Upon consideration hereof, this board gave it as their opinion that the longer existence of such a House of Assembly is incompatible with the honor of the Crown and the safety of the people, and therefore unanimously advised his Excellency to dissolve them, which was done by the following proclamation:

"NORTH CAROLINA. } ss.:

"By his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esquire, etc.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, Several resolves appear on the Journals of the House of Assembly, now sitting, tending to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects and subvert the Constitution; and whereas, The longer existence of such an Assembly is incompatible with the safety of the people: I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council, to dissolve the said Assembly; and it is accordingly dissolved.

"Given under my hand, etc., at Newbern, etc., this 8th day of April, 1775, etc.

"God save the King.

JO. MARTIN."

The following proceedings took place in the convention:

"Wednesday, April 5, 1775.

"The convention met according to adjournment.

"Mr. Jonathan Herring, one of the Delegates for Pasquotank county, and Mr. David Stanley, one of the Delegates for Bertie county, appeared and took their seats in convention. The Association entered into by the general Congress at Philadelphia on the 20th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1774, and signed by the members thereof, was presented to this convention by Colonel Richard Caswell, and, on motion, was ordered to be read, and was accordingly read.

"Resolved, That this Convention do highly approve of the said Association, and do for themselves firmly agree to adhere to the said Association, and recommend it to their

constituents that they likewise adhere firmly to the same. In full approbation and testimony whereof, the members of this Convention subscribe their names.

JAMES HARVEY."

"Friday, April 7, 1775.

"The Convention met according to adjournment.

"Resolved, That the moderator of this Convention, and, in case of his death, Mr. Samuel Johnson, be empowered, on any future occasion that may in his opinion require it, to direct Delegates to be chosen for the respective counties and towns in this Province to meet in convention in the town of Hillsborough, at such time as he shall think proper to appoint; and in case that the members of the majority of the counties and towns do not appear at the day appointed, that he be empowered to adjourn the Convention *de die in diem* until a sufficient number shall appear.

"Resolved, That the clerk furnish Mr. James Davis with a copy of the proceedings of this Convention, and that Mr. Davis print the same.

"Resolved, That this Convention do most heartily approve of the conduct and proceedings of the late Continental Congress, and will endeavor to carry into execution the measures by them recommended; and that the most earnest wishes and desires of this Convention are to see harmony restored between Great Britain and her Colonies on honorable and Constitutional principles, which alone can give the same a lasting foundation; that we will exert our utmost endeavors towards completing this important purpose, and are of opinion that the late commercial regulations are the most eligible means for attaining that desirable end.

"And whereas, The freedom, happiness, and prosperity of every state greatly depends on providing within itself articles necessary for subsistence, clothing, and defence of its inhabitants,—

"Resolved, That from common prudence and regard for this Colony, we will encourage arts, manufactures, agriculture, and every kind of economy, and use our influence for the same purpose with our constituents and all connected with us; and we recommend to the committees of the several counties to propose premiums to the inhabitants whose industry may be a proper subject for their bounty, in such manner as to them shall seem meet.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's subjects have an undoubted right at any time to meet and petition the Throne for a redress of grievances, and that such right includes a further right of appointing Delegates for such purpose; and therefore that the Governor's proclamation issued to forbid this meeting, and his proclamation afterwards commanding this meeting to disperse, are illegal and an in-

fringement of our just rights, and therefore ought to be disregarded as wanton and arbitrary exertions of power.'"

Mecklenburg County.

Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, is entitled to the imperishable honor of having, in May, 1775, taken a step in advance of all the Colonists, in setting up a government entirely independent of the British Crown and Parliament. The following resolves of the Committee of Safety of that county, while they constitute the charter of a new local government, at the same time enunciate principles which approximate independence more nearly than any similar manifestation that preceded them. It is proper to remark that these resolves are in no way involved in the controversy which has existed for seventy years, in regard to the genuineness of the Mecklenburg Declaration of May 20, 1775; for the resolves of May 31st are still extant in several newspapers printed in 1775, north and south, and may be seen thus preserved in the Congress and other public libraries.

The "Declaration" of May 20th, is also given below, as it was first published in the *Raleigh Register*, of April 30, 1819:

"(From the State Paper Office, London, Geo. Vol. 218.)

"(G. Bancroft's Collection, 1775, page 107.)

"Gov. Wright to Secretary of State.

"SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, 20th June, 1775.

"(In his own handwriting.)

"By the enclosed paper your Lordship will see the extraordinary resolves by the people in Charlotte town, in Mecklenburg county; and I should not be surprised if the same were done everywhere else.

"I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

"My Lord, your Lordship's most

"Obliged and obedient servant,

"JAS. WRIGHT.

"To the EARL OF DARTMOUTH."

Extract from the *South Carolina Gazette and County Journal* of June, 1775, No. 498, printed at Charlestown, by Charles Crouch on the Bay, corner of Elliott Street. [The first four and the 16th of these resolves were found by Mr. Peter Force in the *New York Journal* of July 1775, and the whole series were found, as above stated, by Mr. Bancroft, in the State Paper Office, in London]

"CHARLOTTETOWN, Mecklenburg County, }
May 31, 1775. }

"This day the Committee met and passed the following resolves:

"Whereas, By an address presented to his Majesty by

both Houses of Parliament in February last, the American Colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King and Parliament are annulled and vacated, and the former civil Constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide in some degree for the exigencies of this county in the present alarming period, we deem it proper and necessary to pass the following resolves, viz. :

“ ‘1. That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the Crown to be exercised in these Colonies, are null and void, and the Constitution of each particular county wholly suspended.

“ ‘2. That the Provincial Congress of each Province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers within their respective Provinces, and that no other legislative or executive power does or can exist at this time in any of these Colonies.

“ ‘3. As all former laws are now suspended in this Province, and the Congress has not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

“ ‘4. That the inhabitants of this county do meet on a certain day appointed by the committee, and, having formed themselves into nine companies (to wit, eight for the county and one for the town), do choose a colonel and other military officers who shall hold and exercise their several powers, by virtue of the choice, and independent of the Crown of Great Britain and former Constitution of this Province.

“ ‘5. That for the better preservation of the peace and administration of justice each, of those companies do choose from their own body two discreet freeholders, who shall be empowered, each by himself and singly, to decide and determine all matters of controversy, arising within said company, under the sum of twenty shillings, and jointly and together all controversies under the sum of forty shillings; yet so as their decisions may admit of appeal to the Convention of Select-men of the County, and also that any one of these men shall have power to examine and commit to confinement persons accused of petit larceny.

“ ‘6. That those two select-men thus chosen do jointly and together choose from the body of their particular company two persons to act as constables, who may assist them in the execution of their office.

“ ‘7. That upon the complaint of any persons to either of these select-men, he do issue his warrant directed to the con-

stable, commanding him to bring the aggressor before him to answer said complaint.

“8. That these eighteen select-men thus appointed do meet every third Thursday in January, April, July, and October, at the Court-house in Charlotte, to hear and determine all matters of controversy for sums exceeding forty shillings; also appeals; and in case of felony, to commit the persons convicted thereof to close confinement until the Provincial Congress shall provide and establish laws and modes of proceeding in all such cases.

“9. That these eighteen select-men thus convened do choose a clerk to record the transactions of said convention and that said clerk, upon the application of any person or persons aggrieved, do issue his warrant, to any of the constables of the company to which the offender belongs, directing said constable to summon and warn said offender to appear before said convention at their next sitting, to answer the aforesaid complaint.

“10. That any person making complaint, upon oath to the clerk or any member of the convention, that he has reason to suspect that any person or persons, indebted to him in a sum above forty shillings, intend clandestinely to withdraw from the county without paying the debt, the clerk or such member shall issue his warrant to the constable, commanding him to take said person or persons into safe custody until the next sitting of the convention.

“11. That when a debtor for a sum above forty shillings shall abscond and leave the country, the warrant granted as aforesaid shall extend to any goods or chattels of said debtor as may be found; and such goods or chattels be seized and held in custody by the constable for the space of thirty days; in which time, if the debtor fail to return and discharge the debt, the constable shall return the warrant to one of the select-men of the company where the goods are found, who shall issue orders to the constable to sell such a part of said goods as shall amount to the sum due. That when the debt exceeds forty shillings, the return shall be made to the convention, who shall issue orders for sale.

“12. That all receivers and collectors of quit rents, public and county taxes, do pay the same into the hands of the chairman of this committee to be by them disbursed as the public exigencies may require; and that such receivers and collectors proceed no further in their office until they be approved of by and have given to this committee good and sufficient security for a faithful return of such moneys when collected.

“13. That the committee be accountable to the county for the application of all moneys received from such public officers.

“ ‘14. That all these officers hold their commissions during the pleasure of their several constituents.

“ ‘15. That this committee will sustain all damages to all or any of their officers thus appointed and thus acting on account of their obedience and conformity to these rules.

“ ‘16. That whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country; and upon confirmation being made to the captain of the company in which he resides, the said company shall cause him to be apprehended and conveyed before two select-men, who, upon proof of the fact, shall commit said offender to safe custody until the next sitting of the committee, who shall deal with him as prudence may direct.

“ ‘17. That any person refusing to yield obedience to the above rules, shall be considered equally criminal, and liable to the same punishment as the offenders above last mentioned.

“ ‘18. That these resolves be in full force and virtue until instructions from the Provincial Congress regulating the jurisprudence of the Province shall provide otherwise, or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America.

“ ‘19. That the eight militia companies in this county provide themselves with proper arms and accoutrements, and hold themselves in readiness to execute the commands and directions of the general Congress of this Province and this committee.

“ ‘20. That the committee appoint Col. Thomas Polk and Dr. Joseph Kennedy to purchase 300 pounds of powder, 600 pounds of lead, 1000 flints, for the use of the militia of this county, and deposit the same in such place as the committee hereafter may direct.’

“ Signed, by order of the committee,

“ EPH. BREVARD,

“ Clerk of the Committee.

Extract from the Proclamation of Governor Martin.

Dated, August the 8th, 1774.

“ NORTH CAROLINA, ss.:

“ By his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esq., his Majesty’s Captain, General, Governor, and Commander-in-chief in and over the said Province:

“ And whereas, I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, importing to be resolves of a set of people styling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenburg. most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws, government, and Constitution of this county, and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the laws and subversive of his Majesty’s gov-

ernment; and another publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* of the fourteenth of last month, addressed, 'To the Committees of the Several Towns and Counties of North Carolina, Appointed for the Purpose of Carrying into Execution the Resolves of the Continental Congress,' bearing date at Philadelphia, June 19th, 1775, and signed William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, the preposterous enormity of which cannot be adequately described and abhorred."

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

The following is the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," the genuineness of which has given rise to much controversy. It was first published, April 30, 1819, as will be seen from the *Raleigh Register* of that date:

"It is not probably known to many of our readers" says the *Register*, "that the citizens of Mecklenburg county, in this State, made a Declaration of Independence more than a year before Congress made theirs. The following document on the subject has lately come to the hands of the editor from unquestionable authority, and is published that it may go down to posterity:

"'NORTH CAROLINA, MECKLENBURG COUNTY, May 20, 1775.

"'In the spring of 1775, the leading characters of Mecklenburg county, stimulated by that enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the mind above considerations of individual aggrandizement, and scorning to shelter themselves from the impending storm by submission to lawless power, etc., etc., held several detached meetings, in each of which the individual sentiments were "that the cause of Boston was the cause of all; that their destinies were indissolubly connected with those of their eastern fellow-citizens; and that they must either submit to all the impositions which an unprincipled and, to them, an unrepresented Parliament might impose; or support their brethren who were doomed to sustain the first shock of that power, which, if successful there, would ultimately overwhelm all in the common calamity." Conformably to these principles, Colonel Adam Alexander, through solicitation, issued an order to each captain's company in the county of Mecklenburg, (then comprising the present county of Cabarrus), directing each militia company to elect two persons and delegate to them ample power to devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm, and to secure unimpaired, their inalienable rights, privileges, and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny.

"'In conformity to said order, on the 19th of May, 1775, the said delegation met in Charlotte, vested with unlimited

powers; at which time official news by express arrived of the battle of Lexington on that day of the preceding month.

“Every Delegate felt the value and importance of the prize and the awful and solemn crisis which had arrived; every bosom swelled with indignation at the malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge developed in the late attack at Lexington. The universal sentiment was: Let us not flatter ourselves that popular harangues or resolves, that popular vapor, will avert the storm or vanquish our common enemy; let us deliberate; let us calculate the issue, the probable result; and then let us act with energy as brethren leagued to preserve our property, our lives, and, what is still more endearing, the liberties of America. Abraham Alexander was then elected chairman, and John McKnitt Alexander, clerk. After a free and full discussion of the various objects for which the delegation had been convened, it was unanimously ordained:

“1. Resolved, That whoever directly or indirectly abetted or in any way, form, or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

“2. Resolved, That we, the citizens of the Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother-country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection contract, or association with that nation who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

“3. Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintainance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

“4. Resolved, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws; wherein, nevertheless, the Crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

“5. Resolved, That it is also further decreed that all, each, and every military officer in this county is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations; and that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer,

viz., a justice of the peace, in the character of a "committeeman," to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace and union and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this Province."

Newbern (N. C.) Committee.

"IN COMMITTEE, }
Aug. 5, 1775. }

"From the late conduct of Governor Martin at Fort Johnston, and intelligence since received by this committee, it appears he intends erecting a king's standard, and commencing hostilities against the people of this Province.

"It is therefore resolved, That no person or persons whatsoever have any correspondence with him, either by personal communication or letter, on pain of being deemed enemies to the liberties of America, and dealt with accordingly.

"And that no person or persons presume to remove him or themselves from hence to Core Sound, or any other part of the Province, where the Governor resides, without leave of this committee, as he or they will not be suffered to return here.

"By order,

R. COGDELL, *Chairman.*"

Tryon County (N. C.) Association.

"August 14, 1775.

"The unprecedented, barbarous, and bloody actions committed by the British troops on our American brethren, near Boston on the 19th of April and 20th of May last, together with the hostile operations and treacherous designs now carrying on by the tools of Ministerial vengeance and despotism for the subjugating all British America, suggest to us the painful necessity of having recourse to arms for the preservation of those rights and liberties which the principles of the Constitution and the laws of God, nature, and nations have made it our duty to defend.

"We therefore, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of Tryon county, do hereby faithfully unite ourselves under the most sacred ties of religion, honor, and love to our country, firmly to resist force by force, in defence of our natural freedom and Constitutional rights against all invasions; and at the same time do solemnly engage to take up arms and risk our lives and fortunes in maintaining the freedom of our country whenever the wisdom and counsel of the Continental Congress or our Provincial Convention shall declare it necessary; and this engagement we will con-

tinue in and hold sacred till a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles, which we most ardently desire, and we do firmly agree to hold all such persons inimical to the liberties of America who shall refuse to subscribe to this Association."

Signed by forty-eight names.

Newbern (N. C.) Committee.

"COMMITTEE CHAMBER,
NEWBERN, August 14, 1775. }

"Whereas, All those who have not subscribed the Articles of Association have sufficiently testified to the public that they are enemies to the liberties of America; and as the principles of self-preservation make it absolutely necessary that they should be deprived of their arms: therefore it is

"Ordered, That the captains of the several companies in this county and town require, of all such suspected persons, as well their fire-arms, as swords, cutlasses, etc., etc., and all gunpowder, lead, and other military stores; and that the said several captains be empowered to give receipt for all such guns, etc., etc., and deliver them out to such persons of his or their company not having arms, etc., etc., as may be willing to serve in the American cause.

"By order,

R. COGDELL, *Chairman.*"

The Congress at Hillsborough.

The Provincial Congress met again at Hillsborough, on the 21st August, pursuant to a call by Samuel Johnston, as provided for at its first sitting at Newbern in April. On Wednesday, the 23d August, the following proceedings took place. The Association entered into by the General Congress at Philadelphia, on the 20th day of October, 1774, and signed by the members thereof, was read:

"Resolved, That this Congress do highly approve of the said Association, and do for themselves firmly agree and promise to adhere thereto, and do recommend it to their constituents that they likewise adhere firmly thereto."

The Committee was directed to prepare and bring in a test for the members of the Congress to sign, reported that they had prepared a test, which they begged leave to lay before the Congress for approbation.

"Ordered, The same be read; which was accordingly read, approved of, and ordered to be entered on the Journals and signed."

It is as follows:

"We, the subscribers, professing our allegiance to the King, and acknowledging the constitutional executive power of government, do solemnly profess, testify, and declare that we do absolutely believe that neither the Parliament of

Great Britain, nor any member or constituent branch thereof, have a right to impose taxes upon these Colonies, or to regulate the internal police thereof; and that all attempts by fraud or force to establish and exercise such claims and powers are violations of the peace and security of the people, and ought to be resisted to the utmost: and that the people of this Province, singly and collectively, are bound by the acts and resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses; because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves; and we do solemnly and sincerely promise and engage, under the sanction of virtue, honour, and the sacred love of liberty and our country, to maintain and support all and every the acts, resolutions, and regulations of the said Continental and Provincial Congresses to the utmost of our power and abilities. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this 23d of August, 1775."

Committees of Wilmington District, North Carolina.

"At a general meeting of the several committees of the district of Wilmington, held at the Court-house in Wilmington, Tuesday, the 20th June, 1775,—

"Resolved, That the following association stand as the association of this committee, and that it be recommended to the inhabitants of this district to sign the same as speedily as possible:

“ “THE ASSOCIATION.

“ “The actual commencement of hostilities against the continent by the British troops in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last near Boston, the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic Ministry, and the dread of instigated insurrections in the Colonies are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms: We, therefore, the subscribers, of Cumberland county, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced that under our distressed circumstances we shall be justified before you in resisting force by force, do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honour, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging that whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety.

“ “This obligation to continue and be in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America upon Constitutional principles—an event we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the Colonies who shall refuse to sub-

scribe to this Association; and we will in all things follow the advice of our general committee respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individual and private property.””

“NORTH CAROLINA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, }
“Friday, April 12, 1776. }

“The select committee to take into consideration the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the King and Parliament of Great Britain against America, and the further measures to be taken for frustrating the same, and for the better defence of this Province, reported as follows, to wit:

“‘It appears to your committee that, pursuant to the plan concerted by the British Ministry for subjugating America, the King and Parliament of Great Britain have usurped a power over the persons and, properties of the people unlimited and uncontrolled, and disregarding their humble petitions for peace, liberty, and safety, have made divers legislative acts denouncing war, famine, and every species of calamity against the continent in general; that British fleets and armies have been and still are employed in destroying our people and committing the most horrid devastations on the country; that Governors in different Colonies have declared protection to slaves who should imbrue their hands in the blood of their masters; that the ships belonging to America are declared prizes of war, and many of them have been violently seized and confiscated. In consequence of which, multitudes of the people have been destroyed, or, from easy circumstances, reduced to the most lamentable distress. And whereas, The moderation hitherto manifested by the united Colonies, and their sincere desire to be reconciled to the mother-country on Constitutional principles, have procured no mitigation of the aforesaid wrongs and usurpations, and that no hopes remain of obtaining redress by those means alone which have been hitherto tried, your committees are of opinion that the House should enter into the following resolve, to wit:

“‘Resolved, That the Delegates for this Colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the Delegates of the other Colonies in declaring independency and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this Colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this Colony, and of appointing Delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof) to meet the Delegates of the other Colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.’

“The Congress, taking the same into consideration, unan-
imously concurred therewith.”

CHAPTER. VI.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

It has been elsewhere shown that South Carolina was among the foremost Colonies to oppose the Stamp Act, and that her treatment of the stamp-distributors was not more ceremonious than the similar officers in more northern Colonies had met with. She was no less prompt in seconding the determined opposition of Massachusetts to the tax on tea and other articles. "As for South Carolina," says Bancroft, "they could not enough praise the glorious ninety-two who would not rescind; toasting them at banquets, and marching by night through the streets of Charleston in processions to their honor, by the blaze of two and ninety torches." This refers to the vote of the Massachusetts Assembly in June, 1768, in refusing, at the command of the King, to rescind their former resolutions against the right of Parliamentary taxation.

The Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary for the Colonies, by instruction from the King, wrote letters to the Colonies in November, 1768, inclosing the addresses of the two Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, and assuring them that the King would not listen to "the views of wicked men" who questioned the supreme authority of that body.

"While Hillsborough was setting his name to these papers," says Bancroft, "Montague, the Governor of South Carolina, invited its Assembly to treat the letters of Massachusetts and Virginia with the contempt they deserved." A committee composed of Parsons, Gadsden, Pinckney, Lloyd, Lynch, Laurens, Rutledge, Elliott, and Dart reported them to be "founded upon undeniable Constitutional principles;" and the House sitting with its doors locked, unanimously directed its speaker to signify to both Provinces its entire approbation. Provoked at what he had no means to prevent, the Governor, that same evening, dissolved the Assembly by beat of drum; while the general toast at Charleston remained, "The unanimous twenty-six who would not rescind from the Massachusetts circular."

South Carolina refused compliance with the Billeting Act, directing the Colonial legislatures to make specific contributions towards the support of the army. Her people also enforced the non-importation agreement by publishing the names of the few enemies to America who kept aloof from the Association.

In December, 1773, a ship arrived at Charleston with two hundred and fifty-seven chests of tea. "The spirit of oppo-

sition ran very high, but the consignees were persuaded to resign; so that the collector, after the twentieth day, seized the dutiable article, there being no one to vend it or to pay the duty, and it perished in the cellars where it was stored."—Bancroft, vol. 6.

A General Meeting Called.

"CHARLESTOWN, S. C., June 13, 1774.

"At a meeting of the General Committee this day, it was unanimously agreed, That a general meeting of the inhabitants of this Colony be called on Wednesday the 6th of July next, at eight o'clock in the morning, at the Exchange in Charleston, to consider of the papers, letters, and resolutions transmitted to the committee from the northern Colonies; and also of such steps as are necessary to be pursued in union with the inhabitants of all our sister-Colonies on this continent in order to avert the dangers impending over American liberties in general by the late hostile act of Parliament against Boston, and other arbitrary measures of the British Ministry; and that public notice thereof be immediately given in the gazettes."

Extract of a Letter to a Gentleman in New York.

"CHARLESTOWN, S. C., 13th June, 1774.

"Circular-letters are dispatched by express to all the most leading men throughout this Colony in order to remove some jealousies which have been industriously excited to acquaint them with the present dangerous situation of every American and his posterity, and to engage their union, assistance, and influence in their several districts, to attend either personally or by deputies authorized, to declare their sentiments at a general meeting of Delegates from every part of the Colony, to be held at Charlestown, the 6th of July next.

"Even the merchants now seem generally inclined to a non-importation. How much further we shall go will depend upon the expected advices from the other Colonies, and the spirit and vigor with which they act."

Extract of a Letter Received in New York.

"CHARLESTOWN, S. C., July 8, 1774.

"On the 6th instant, according to proper notices dispersed all over the Province, began at Charlestown our general meeting of Delegates from all the counties, for agreeing upon general resolutions, and for the appointment of deputies to represent and act for us at the general Congress. This meeting was perhaps one of the most respectable ever held in America, and continued with very little intermission till this afternoon when the business was concluded with the

enclosed resolutions. Do not be surprised at not seeing any non-importation or -exportation resolves. We had such, but gave them up to succeed in the allowing full powers to our deputies, which was gaining a grand point. They were chosen by ballot, which kept us up till after midnight.

"At this election the merchants appeared with us for the first time, but miscarried in their choice. The voters' names were all taken down. They have, by voting in the appointment of deputies so fully empowered, acceded to non-importation or -exportation, if the Congress should adopt those measures. The people, nevertheless, were so uneasy for agreements to be entered into, that it was at last declared, on the part of the trade, that they would (of their own motion) countermand their orders, and would not import while the present troubles continue.

"Captain Hunt has behaved so exceedingly clever upon the present occasion by staying three days for the result of our meeting and for our letters, that he has this day received public thanks in our full meeting. His stay has given me this opportunity of subscribing myself," etc.

Resolutions of the General Meeting.

Resolutions unanimously entered into by the inhabitants of South Carolina at a general meeting held at Charlestown, in said Colony, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 6th, 7th, and 8th days of July, 1774:

"Resolved, That his Majesty's subjects in North America owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is due from his subjects born in Great Britain.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's subjects in America are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural-born subjects within the Kingdom of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That it is repugnant to the rights of the people that any taxes should be imposed on them unless with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

"Resolved, That it is a fundamental right which his Majesty's liege subjects are entitled to, that no man should suffer in his person or property without a fair trial and judgment given by his peers, or by the laws of the land.

"Resolved, That all trials of treason, misprision of treason, or for any felony or crime whatever committed, or done in this his Majesty's Colony, by any person or persons residing therein, ought of right to be had and conducted in his Majesty's courts held within the said Colony, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding; and that the seizing any person or persons residing in this Colony, suspected of any crime whatever committed therein, and sending such person or persons to places beyond the sea to be tried, is oppressive and illegal and highly derogatory to the

rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privileges of being tried by a jury from the vicinage, as well as the benefit of summoning and procuring witnesses on such trial, will be taken away from the party accused.

“Resolved, That the statute made in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth, chapter two, entitled ‘An Act for the Trial of Treasons Committed out of the King’s Dominions,’ does not extend and cannot, but by an arbitrary and cruel construction, be construed to extend to treasons, misprisions of treasons, or concealment of treasons committed in any of his Majesty’s American Colonies, where there is sufficient provision by the law of the land for the impartial trial of all such persons as are charged with, and for the due punishment of, those offences.

“Resolved, That the late act for shutting up the port of Boston, and the two bills relative to Boston which by the last accounts from Great Britain had been brought into Parliament, there read and committed, are of the most alarming nature to all his Majesty’s subjects in America; are calculated to deprive many thousand Americans of their rights, properties, and privileges in a most cruel, oppressive, and unconstitutional manner; are the most dangerous precedents: and, though levelled immediately at the people of Boston, very manifestly and glaringly show if the inhabitants of that town are intimidated into a mean submission to said acts, that the like are designed for all the Colonies; when not even the shadow of liberty to his person or security of his property will be left to any of his subjects residing on the American continent.

“Resolved therefore, That not only the dictates of humanity, but the soundest principles of true policy and self-preservation, make it absolutely necessary for the inhabitants of all the Colonies in America to assist and support the people of Boston by all lawful ways in their power, and especially to leave no justifiable means untried to procure a repeal of those acts immediately relating to them; also all others affecting the Constitutional rights and liberties of America in general, as the best means to effect this desirable end.

“Resolved, That Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, be and they are hereby nominated and appointed deputies, on the part and behalf of this Colony, to meet the deputies of the several Colonies of North America in general Congress, the first Monday of September next, at Philadelphia, or at any other place or time that may be generally agreed upon: there to consider the act lately passed and bills depending in Parliament with regard to the port of Boston and Province of Massachusetts Bay, which act and bills in the precedent and consequences affect the whole

continent ; also the grievances under which America labors by reason of the several acts of Parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue and lay unnecessary restraints and burthens on trade, and of the statutes, Parliamentary acts, and royal instructions which make any invidious distinctions between his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain and America;—with full power and authority, in behalf of us and our constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures (by which we for ourselves and them most solemnly engage to abide) as in the opinion of the said deputies and of the deputies so to be assembled shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts and a redress of those grievances.

“Resolved, That we will agree to pay the expenses of those gentlemen who may be fixed upon to be sent upon this business.

“Resolved, That, while the oppressive acts relative to Boston are enforced, we will cheerfully, from time to time, contribute towards the relief of such poor persons there whose unfortunate circumstances occasioned by the operation of those acts may be thought to stand in need of most assistance.

“Resolved, That we will by all means in our power endeavor to preserve harmony and union amongst all the Colonies.

“Resolved, That a committee of ninety-nine persons be now appointed to act as a general committee to correspond with the committees of the other Colonies, and do all matters and things necessary to carry these resolutions into execution ; and that any twenty-one of them together may proceed to business—their power to continue till the next general meeting ; and in case of the death, departure from the Province, or refusal to act, of any or either of them, the parish or district from which such person dying, removing, or refusing to act was chosen, shall fill up the vacancy.”

Extract of a letter received in Boston, dated Charlestown, S. C., July 11, 1774 :

“In consequence of the advertisements lately published by the general committee, and other proper means used to obtain the sense of the whole Colony on the present alarming state of American affairs, on Wednesday last, the 6th instant, the largest body of the most respectable inhabitants that has ever been seen together upon any public occasion here, or perhaps anywhere in America (for gentlemen of the greatest property and character, animated with an ardent zeal to relieve their suffering brethren, and to preserve their own freedom and the birthrights of their posterity, notwithstanding the extreme inconvenience of the season, from even the remotest parts of the country attended), met at the Exchange in this town in order to consider of the papers,

letters, and resolutions that had been transmitted to the said committee from the northern Colonies ; and also of the steps necessary to be pursued in the union with the inhabitants of our sister-Colonies on this continent, to avert the dangers impending over American liberties in general, by the late hostile act of Parliament against Boston, and other arbitrary measures of the British Ministry."

Another Account

from Drayton, the historian:

"The 6th day of July now arrived, and Charlestown was filled with people from the country. One hundred and four deputies represented all parts of the Colony, except Greenville county, St. John's Colleton county, and Christ Church parish. These districts sent no deputies. And in behalf of Charlestown, the general committee joined the deputies from the country. The meeting was held under the Exchange, on the 6th of July, 1774; and a crowded meeting it was. At nine o'clock in the morning Colonel George Gabriel Powell took the chair, and it was carried, the votes should be given by each person present, and not by parishes. It was also further determined that whoever came there might give his vote. The business of the day then opened with reading the communications from the northern Colonies. They then proceeded to consider certain resolutions touching American rights and grievances. These were agreed to."

The South Carolina Assembly.

"The Commons House of Assembly met agreeably to the Lieutenant-governor's prorogation, on Tuesday, the 2d day of August, 1774, at eight o'clock in the morning; and Messrs. Heyward and Cattell were ordered to 'wait on the Lieutenant-governor, and acquaint his Honour that the House had met.' The said gentlemen being returned, Mr. Heyward reported to the House that Mr. Cattell and himself had waited on the Lieutenant-governor with the message they had in charge, and that his Honour was pleased to say he would be in the Council-chamber immediately, when he would send a message to this House.

"Colonel Powell, chairman of the late general meeting, acquainted the House 'that, during the recess of this House, namely, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th days of July last, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of this Colony, they having under consideration the acts of Parliament lately passed with regard to the port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as well as other American grievances, had nominated and appointed the Honourable Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, deputies, on the part and behalf of this

Colony, to meet the deputies of the other Colonies of North America, in general Congress, the first Monday in September next, at Philadelphia, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on: then to consider the acts lately passed and bills depending in Parliament with regard to the port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which acts and bills in the precedent and consequences affect the whole continent of America; also the grievances under which America labors by reason of the several acts of Parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue and lay unnecessary restraints and burthens on trade, and of the statutes, Parliamentary acts, and royal instructions which make an invidious distinction between his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain and America;—with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures as in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts and a redress of those grievances.'—And thereupon moved that this House do resolve to recognize, ratify, and confirm the said appointment of deputies for the purposes aforesaid; and that this House do also resolve to provide a sum not exceeding one thousand five hundred pounds sterling to defray the expenses which said deputies will be at on the said service.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this House do recognize, ratify, and confirm the appointment of the said deputies for the purposes mentioned in the said motion.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this House will make provision to pay any person or persons who will advance to the said Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, the sum of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling (for the purposes aforesaid), together with full interest from the day the said one thousand five hundred pounds sterling shall be advanced until it be repaid to the person or persons advancing the same.’”

Non-consumption of Tea.

“CHARLESTOWN, S. C., October 14, 1774.

“On Wednesday last the General Committee of this Colony chose a Committee of Inquiry to see that no India teas from any place whatever be imported or landed here, and ordered the following advertisement to be published in the *Gazette*:

“‘CHARLESTOWN S. C., October 12, 1774.

“‘The General Committee most earnestly recommend and request of those inhabitants of this Colony who have not yet signed an agreement for non-consumption of India teas after the first day of November next, that they will subscribe the

said agreement as soon as possible; for which purpose copies thereof will be lodged in the hands of the gentlemen who were chosen to represent the several parishes on the said committee.'"

Extracts from the charge of the Honorable William Henry Drayton, Esq., one of the Judges of the General Sessions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Assize and General Gaol Delivery for the districts of Camden and Cheraw, in South Carolina, on his circuit, the fifth and fifteenth days of November, 1774, delivered to the several Grand Juries, and by them ordered to be published:

"By as much as you prefer freedom to slavery, by so much ought you to prefer a generous death to servitude, and to hazard everything to endeavor to maintain that rank which is so gloriously pre-eminent above all other nations. You ought to endeavor to preserve it, not only for its inestimable value, but from a reverence to our ancestors, from whom we received it, and from a love of our children, to whom we are bound by every consideration to deliver down this legacy, the most valuable that ever was or can be delivered to posterity.

"It is unnecessary for me to draw any other character of those liberties than that great line by which they are distinguished; and happy is it for the subject, that those liberties can be marked in so easy and so distinguished a manner. And this is the distinguishing character: English people cannot be taxed; nay, they cannot be bound by any law unless by their consent, expressed by themselves or by their representatives of their own election. This Colony was settled by English subjects; by a people from England herself; a people who brought over with them, who planted in this Colony, and who transmitted to posterity, the invaluable rights of Englishmen—rights which no time, no contract, no climate can diminish.

"Some worthy judges style themselves the King's servants, a style which sounds harshly in my ears, inasmuch as the being a servant implies obedience to the orders of the master, and such judges might possibly think that in the present situation of American affairs this charge is inconsistent with my duty to the King. But for my part, in my judicial character, I know no master but the law; I am a servant, not to the King, but to the Constitution; and in my estimation, I shall but discharge my duty as a good subject to the King and a trusty officer under the Constitution, when I boldly declare the law to the people and instruct them in their civil rights. Indeed, you gentleman of the Grand Jury cannot properly comprehend your duty, and your great obligation to perform it, unless you know those civil rights from which these duties spring; and, by knowing the value of those rights, thence learn your obligations to

perform these duties. A learned judge says: 'Every new tribunal erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury, is a step towards aristocracy—the most oppressive of absolute governments.' And it is therefore a duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this valuable Constitution in all its rights; to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired; to amend it wherever it is defective; and, above all, to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the introduction of new and arbitrary methods of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences, may in time imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of English liberty.

"Mr. Justice Blackstone terms the English trial by jury the glory of the English law; let me tell you, it is that kind of glory in full meridian lustre, in comparison of which the English mode appears only with diminished splendour."—

Presentments of the Grand Jury for the District of Camden.

"3. We present, as a grievance of the most dangerous and alarming nature, the power exercised by the Parliament to tax and to make laws to bind the American Colonies in all cases whatsoever. We conceive such a power is destructive of our birthrights as freemen, descended from English ancestors, seeing such freemen cannot be Constitutionally taxed or bound by any law without their consent, expressed by themselves or implied by their representatives of their own election; a consent which the good people of this Colony never have signified, to be taxed or bound by laws of the British Parliament, in which they never have had any Constitutional representation.

"And whereas, We rather choose to die freemen than to live slaves, bound by laws in the formation of which we have no participation, so now, that the body of this district are legally assembled, as one step towards the defence of our Constitutional rights, which are dearer to us than our lives and fortunes, we think it our indispensable duty to the people of the district, to ourselves, the Grand Jurors for the body of the people, and to our posterity, thus clearly to express the sense of this large and populous district touching our Constitutional rights and the very imminent danger to which they are exposed from the usurped power of the British Parliament, taxing, and, by law binding, the Americans in all cases whatsoever;—being resolved to maintain our Constitutional rights at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, we do most earnestly recommend that this presentment in particular be laid before our Constitutional representatives in General Assembly, who, we doubt not, will do all in their power to support us in our just rights.

"And, lastly, in testimony of the satisfaction we feel, and

the high estimation in which we hold the charge given by his Honour the judge at the opening of the court, and the principles of loyalty and liberty in which the same is manifestly founded, and also that a lasting evidence may remain of that true and Constitutional language, which it is the duty of every judge to adopt in the exercise of an office instituted solely for the preservation of the laws, we make it our request that his Honour will be pleased to direct the said charge to be printed and made public, fully persuaded that every man will read it with applause who wishes a lasting security to the British Constitutional establishment of our civil and religious liberty. We also recommend the publication of these our presentments.

“MATTHEW SINGLETON,
“Foreman ;

“Joshua English,	Jasper Sutton,	Isam Moore,
Sylvester Dunn,	John Payn,	John Cantey,
John Witherspoon,	Henry Cassells,	John Gamble,
Samuel Bradley,	Robert Carter,	James Conyers,
Henry Hunter,	David Wilson,	David Neilson,
Aaron Frierson,	Thomas Coffity,	Moses Gordon,
John Perkins, Sr.,	Samuel Cantey,	Edward Dukey.”

The South Carolina Provincial Congress.

“On Wednesday, the 11th day of January, 1775, the deputies from every parish and district in the Province of South Carolina met at the Exchange in Charleston, agreeably to the Resolutions of Election;

“And after some debate it was,—

“‘Resolved, That this Congress do approve the Declaration of American Rights as framed by the Continental Congress.

“‘Ordered, That the Association formed by the late Continental Congress be taken into immediate consideration.

“The Association was then read, and after long debate it was,—

“‘Resolved, That this Congress do approve the American Association.

“‘Ordered, That the resolutions of the late Continental Congress on the 10th of September last, and the first, second, fourth, and sixth resolutions of the said Congress on the 14th of October last, be taken into immediate consideration.

“‘Resolved, That this Congress do approve the above resolutions of the Continental Congress.

“‘Ordered, That the President do return the most cordial and grateful thanks of this Congress to each of the late Delegates from this Colony to the late Continental Congress for their able and faithful discharge in the said Congress of the high trust reposed in them by their country.’

“And the same was done accordingly.

“Resolved, That the unfeigned thanks of every American are justly due to the worthy and patriotic members of the late Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, for their wise and spirited exertions in behalf of American liberty; and the representatives of this Colony, now met in Provincial Congress, do hereby, in behalf of themselves and in the names of their constituents, unanimously express their sense of the great services rendered them by those important proceedings.”

Extract from Drayton, the Historian.

“Our Delegates from Congress being present, the proceedings of that body at Philadelphia were taken into consideration, and many questions were proposed to them relative to various parts of the proceedings, to which answers and explanations were given by them. One of the most important of these was, why, at a time when a number of gentlemen were sent to Congress from all parts of America, for the express purpose of considering and stating the American grievances, and for devising the proper means for redressing them, why did they limit their researches to the year 1763, and not trace back, as could easily have been done, the many aggressions which had been committed by Great Britain upon her infant Colonies, in the jealousies, monopolies, and prohibitions with which she was so prodigal towards them, for the express purpose of depressing their population, confining their trade, and crippling their attempts at even the most domestic and necessary manufactures? To this it was answered that our Delegates were willing to have stated all the grievances, as were the greater part of the other Delegates; but the people of Virginia would not retrospect further back than 1763, being limited in their powers.”

“CHARLESTOWN, Jan'y 17, 1775.

“Resolved, That it be recommended by this Congress, to all the inhabitants of this Colony, that they be diligently attentive in learning the use of arms, and that their officers be requested to train and exercise them at least once a fortnight.

“Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of this Colony to set apart Friday, the 17th February next, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer before Almighty God, devoutly to petition him to inspire the King with true wisdom to defend the people of North America in their just title to freedom, and to avert from them the impending calamities of civil war.

“Resolved, That the several ministers of the gospel throughout the Colony be requested to prepare and deliver suitable discourses upon this solemn occasion.

"Resolved, That every member of the present Congress who may be in town do meet at the Commons House of Assembly, and proceed from thence in a body to attend divine service at St. Philip's Church; and that the president do request of the Reverend Mr. Robert Smith that he will prepare and preach on that day a sermon suitable to the importance of the occasion."

Association

unanimously agreed to in the Provincial Congress of South Carolina.

"June 3d, 1775.

"The actual commencement of hostilities against this continent by the British troops in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last near Boston, the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic Ministry, and the dread of instigated insurrections in the Colonies are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms.

"We, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of South Carolina, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations—the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced that under our present distressed circumstances we shall be justified before God and man in resisting force by force, do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honor, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging that, whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety.

"This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America upon Constitutional principles—an event which we most ardently desire.

"And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the Colonies who shall refuse to subscribe to this Association.

"Subscribed by every member present on the 4th day of June, 1775.

Certified by

"HENRY LAURENS, *President.*"

"CHARLESTOWN, S. C., June 8, 1775.

"The Association signed by the Provincial Congress and recommended by them as a proper instrument to be subscribed to at this juncture by persons of all persuasions, was in a few days, with the greatest avidity and cheerfulness, signed also by almost every man in this town; in short, such is here the spirit for liberty and freedom, that, of the very few who objected, there were only two who were hardy enough to ridicule or treat it with contempt, viz., Loughlin Martin and John Dealy, on which account they drew on

themselves the resentment of the populace. Yesterday they were carted through the principal streets of this town in complete suits of tar and feathers. The very indecent and daring behaviour of the two culprits in several instances occasioned their being made spectacles of. After having been exhibited for about a half-hour, and having made many acknowledgments of their crime, they were conducted home, cleaned, and quietly put on board of Captain Lasley's ship, lying wind-bound, for Bristol. We hear that, upon the intercession of Martin's friends, and his repeated promises of future good behaviour, he is allowed to come on shore and follow his business as usual."

"CHARLESTOWN, S. C., June 9, 1775.

"We are informed that the Association lately subscribed by the Provincial Congress, and recommended by them as proper to be signed by all the inhabitants meets with the greatest success. In the course of four days it has been signed by almost every man in Charlestown; none having refused, that we hear of, except a few gentlemen under peculiar circumstances.

"We also learn that the Provincial Congress have determined to raise two regiments of foot and one of horse immediately; and also to put the Militia upon a respectable footing, to which the people most cheerfully accord; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that the Colony will very speedily be put in a good posture of defence.

"The Provincial Congress have resolved to lay up proper quantities of rice and flour in granaries in divers parts of the Colony, and have appointed commissioners for purchasing these articles, and carrying these resolutions forthwith into execution. They have also prohibited the further exportation of rice and corn for three months."

Address of the Provincial Congress to the Governor.

"To his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord William Campbell, Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the Province aforesaid:

"The humble Address and Declaration of the Provincial Congress:

"We, his Majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of the people of this Colony, in Congress assembled, beg leave to disclose to your Excellency the true causes of our proceedings; not only that upon your arrival among us you may receive no unfavorable impression of our conduct, but that we may stand justified to the world.

"When the ordinary modes of application for redress of grievances, and the usual means of defence against arbitrary impositions, have failed, mankind generally have had recourse to those that are extraordinary. Hence the origin of

the Continental Congress, and hence the present representation of the people of this Colony.

"It is unnecessary to enumerate the grievances of America; they have been so often represented that your Excellency cannot be a stranger to them. Let it therefore suffice to say that the hands of his Majesty's Ministers which have long lain heavy, now press us with intolerable weight.

"We declare that no love of innovation, no desire of altering the Constitution of government, no lust of independence, has had the least influence upon our councils.

"But, alarmed and roused by a long succession of arbitrary proceedings by wicked administrations, impressed with the greatest apprehensions of instigated insurrections, and deeply affected by the commencement of hostilities, by the British troops, against this continent, solely for the preservation and defence of our lives, liberties, and properties, we have been compelled to associate and take up arms.

"We sincerely deplore those slanderous informations and wicked counsels by which his Majesty has been led into measures which, if persisted in, must inevitably involve America in all the calamities of civil war and rend the British empire.

"We only desire the secure enjoyment of our invaluable rights, and we wish for nothing more ardently than a speedy reconciliation with our mother-country upon Constitutional principles.

"Conscious of the justice of our cause and the integrity of our views, we readily profess our loyal attachment to our Sovereign, his Crown and dignity; and trusting the event to Providence, we prefer death to slavery."

"IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, }
CHARLESTOWN, S. C., June 22, 1775. }

"Resolved, That all absentees holding estates in this Colony, except the sick, those above sixty, and those under twenty-one years of age, ought forthwith to return to this Colony.

"Resolved, That no persons holding estates in this Colony ought to withdraw from its service without giving good and sufficient reasons for so doing, to this Congress, or, during its recess, to the General Committee.

"Ordered, That the two foregoing resolutions be printed and made public.

PETER TIMOTHY, *Secretary.*"

(Extract.)

"The humble address of the Commons House of Assembly of the said Colony of South Carolina to his Excellency the Governor, dated July 12, 1775:

"In times when the spirit of the Constitution has full operation and, animating all the members of the state, gives

security to civil liberty, then we claim to be "the only legal representatives of the people in this Province, the only Constitutional guardians of its welfare;" but, in the present unhappy situation of affairs, though our constituents might have thought us competent, yet, as our own meeting depended upon the pleasure of the Crown, they would not trust to so precarious a contingency, but wisely appointed another representative body, for necessary, for special, and important purposes.

"We want words to give an idea of our feelings at your Excellency's expression, "If there are any grievances that we apprehend the people of this Province labour under"—as if you doubted their existence: the world resounds with a catalogue of them.

"Your Excellency surely cannot be unacquainted with them.

A Constitution or Form of Government Agreed to and Resolved upon by the Representatives of South Carolina.

"Whereas, The British Parliament, claiming of late years a right to bind the North American Colonies by law in all cases whatsoever, have enacted statutes for raising a revenue in those Colonies, and disposing of such revenue as they thought proper, without the consent and against the will of the Colonists, etc. . . .

"And whereas, The judges of the courts of law here have refused to exercise their respective functions, so that it is become indispensably necessary that, during the present situation of American affairs, and until the accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained (an event which, though traduced and treated as rebels, we still earnestly desire), some mode should be established by common consent and for the good of the people—the origin and end of all government for regulating the internal polity of this Colony; the Congress being vested with powers competent for the purpose, and having fully deliberated touching the premises, do therefore,—

"Resolve, 1. That this Congress, being a full and free representation of the people of this Colony, shall henceforth be deemed and called the General Assembly of South Carolina; and as such, shall continue until the 21st day of October next, and no longer.

"2. That the General Assembly shall, out of their own body, elect by ballot a Legislative Council, to consist of thirteen members, seven of whom shall be a quorum, and to continue for the same time as the General Assembly.

"3. That the General Assembly and the said Legislative Council shall jointly choose by ballot, from among themselves or from the people at large, a President and Commander-in-chief and a Vice-president of the Colony.

"4. That a member of the General Assembly being chosen and acting as President and Commander-in-chief, or Vice-president, or one of the Legislative Council, shall vacate his seat in the General Assembly, and another person shall be elected in his room; and if one of the Legislative Council is chosen President and Commander-in-chief, or Vice president, he shall lose his seat, and another shall be elected in his stead.

"5. That there be a Privy Council, whereof the Vice-president of the Colony shall of course be a member and president of the Privy Council; and that six other members be chosen by ballot—three by the General Assembly, and three by the Legislative Council: provided always, that no officer of the Army or Navy, in the service of the Continent or of this Colony, shall be eligible; and a member of the General Assembly or of the Legislative Council being chosen of the Privy Council, shall not thereby lose his seat in the General Assembly or Legislative Council unless he be elected Vice-president of the Colony; in which case he shall, and another person shall be chosen in his stead.

"The Privy Council, of which four to be a quorum, to advise the President and Commander-in-chief when required; but he shall not be bound to consult them unless in cases after-mentioned.

"6. That the qualifications of the President and Commander-in-chief and Vice-president of the Colony, and members of the Legislative and Privy Councils, shall be the same as of members of the General Assembly; and on being elected, they shall take an oath of qualification in the General Assembly.

"7. That the legislative authority be vested in the President and Commander-in-chief, the General Assembly, and Legislative Council, etc."

General Order of General Washington.

"HEADQUARTERS, }
NEW YORK, August 9, 1776. }

"The general exhorts every man, both officer and soldier, to be prepared for action; to have his arms in the best order; not to wander from his encampment or quarters; to remember what their country expects of them; what a few brave men have lately done, in South Carolina, against a powerful fleet and army; to acquit themselves like men;—and with the blessing of heaven on so just a cause, we cannot doubt of success."

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGIA.

GEORGIA was the youngest and feeblest of the Colonies. It was settled in 1732. When the Revolution began, therefore, it was barely forty years old, and forty years in the life of a Colony in that age are not to be measured by a similar period of time nowadays. By the aid of steam and railways and telegraphs, the populous Atlantic and Middle States and the vast tide of European immigration will now accomplish more in the way of colonizing a western territory in a single year than could have been done during the first half of the eighteenth century. Georgia, therefore, was not in a condition to do much for the common cause in the beginning of the struggle; but her gallant sons did what they could.

The circular-letter of the Massachusetts Assembly dated February 11, 1768, in regard to the taxes on tea and other articles, reached Georgia after the adjournment of the Assembly. It was replied to by the speaker, Alexander Wyly, Esq., "as a private person," in which he stated that Dr. Franklin had been appointed agent of the Colony, with instructions to urge the repeal of the act. The Legislature met in November, and the Governor, referring to this correspondence, which had been made public, informed the Assembly that if any countenance was given to the scheme of Massachusetts, it would be his duty "immediately to put an end to your sitting." Accordingly the presentation of the Massachusetts letter was withheld until the necessary legislation was disposed of, when Mr. Wyly laid that letter before the Assembly, with a similar one from Peyton Randolph, speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Both were ordered to be entered on the Journals; which was done.

"Resolved, That, from the inherent right of the subject to petition the Throne for redress of grievances,—a right allowed and confirmed by act of William and Mary,—the said letters do not appear to the House of a factious or dangerous tendency, but, on the contrary, in the opinion of this House, only tend to a justifiable union of subjects aggrieved, in lawful and laudable endeavors to obtain redress by an application founded upon and expressive of duty and loyalty to the best of kings, a becoming respect for the Parliament of Great Britain, and an equitable and natural affection for our mother-country, and arises from the tender and commendable attention of those Colonies to the natural rights and liberties of the British subjects in America, and to

which they are undeniably entitled upon the happy principles of our Constitution.

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be, by the speaker of the House, transmitted to the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and to the speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and that they be acquainted by him that this House approves of the measures by them pursued to obtain redress of our common grievances; also of the method by them taken of communicating these measures to the other Provinces of the continent.

"Ordered, That the several proceedings and resolutions respecting the said letters be published in the *Gazette* of this Province, and that the clerk do furnish the printer with a copy of the same."

In the same spirit an address to the King was adopted.

The consequence of these proceedings was, the immediate dissolution of the Assembly, as had been threatened by the Governor. The address was sent to Dr. Franklin to be presented to the King; which was done through the Earl of Hillsborough. But its reception through that channel was refused, on the ground that it should have come through the Governor.

On the 16th of September, 1769, a meeting of the merchants and traders of Savannah was held at the house of Mr. Alexander Creighton, at which they resolved, "That any person or persons whatsoever importing any of the articles subject to Parliamentary duties, after having it in their power to prevent it, ought not only to be treated with contempt, but also as enemies of their country." Three days after, a large meeting was convened with the Honorable Jonathan Bryan, one of the Governor's Council, in the chair, at which the same subject was renewedly canvassed, and resolves of non-importation, mostly similar to the other Colonies, unanimously passed. One of the resolves, based on the sentiments of the Bostonians in 1765, was to abolish mourning at funerals, as the black stuffs used for such purposes were of British manufacture.

From this time there was a constant struggle between the Governor and the Assembly. Bryan was thrown out of the Council by order of the King. The unanimous election of Dr. Noble Wimberly Jones to the speakership of the Commons was negatived by the Governor. The Assembly resented the insult as a breach of privilege, and as tending to subvert the rights and liberties of the people.

"SAVANNAH, GA., July 14, 1774.

"The critical situation to which the British Colonies in America are likely to be reduced from the alarming and arbitrary impositions of the late acts of the British Parlia-

ment respecting the town of Boston, as well as the acts that at present extend to the raising of a perpetual revenue without the consent of the people or their representatives, is considered as an object extremely important at this critical juncture, and particularly calculated to deprive the American subjects of their Constitutional rights and liberties as a part of the British empire. It is therefore requested that all persons within the limits of this Province do attend at the Liberty Pole at Fondée's Tavern, in Savannah, on Wednesday, the 27th instant, in order that the said matters may be taken under consideration, and other Constitutional measures pursued as may then appear to be most eligible.

"NOBLE W. JONES,
ARCHIBALD BULLOCH,

JOHN HOUSTON,
GEORGE WALTON."

Resolutions Adopted at a General Meeting of the People.

Resolutions entered into at Savannah, in Georgia, on Wednesday, the 10th day of August, 1774, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of the Province, assembled to consider the state of the Colonies in America:

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That his Majesty's subjects in America owe the same allegiance, and are entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities, with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That as protection and allegiance are reciprocal, and under the British Constitution correlative, terms, his Majesty's liege subjects in America have a clear and indisputable right, as well from the general laws of mankind as from the ancient and established customs of the land, so often recognized, to petition the Throne upon every emergency.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an act of Parliament lately passed for blocking the port and harbor of Boston is contrary to our idea of the British Constitution. First, for that in effect deprives good and lawful men of the use of their property, without judgment of their peers; and, secondly, for that it is in nature of an *ex post facto* law, and indiscriminately blends, as objects of punishment, the innocent with the guilty: neither do we conceive the same justified upon the principles of necessity; for that numerous instances evince that the laws and executive power of Boston have made sufficient provisions for the punishment of all offenders against persons, or property.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the act for abolishing the Charter of Massachusetts Bay tends to the subversion of American rights; for, besides those general liberties the original settlers brought over with them as their birthright, particular immunities were granted by such Charter as an inducement and means of settling the Province; and we ap-

prehend the said Charter cannot be dissolved but by a voluntary surrender of the people representatively declared.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That we apprehend the Parliament of Great Britain hath not, nor ever had, any right to tax his Majesty's American subjects; for it is evident beyond contradiction, the Constitution admits of no taxation without representation, that they are coeval and inseparable; and every demand for the support of government should be by requisition made to the several Houses of Representatives.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it is contrary to natural justice and the established law of the land, to transport any person to Great Britain or elsewhere to be tried under indictment for a crime committed in any of the Colonies, as the party prosecuted would thereby be deprived of the privileges of trial by his peers from the vicinage, the injured perhaps prevented from legal reparation, and both lose the full benefit of their witnesses.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That we will concur with our sister-Colonies in every Constitutional measure to obtain redress of American grievances, and will, by every lawful means in our power, maintain these inestimable blessings for which we are indebted to God and the Constitution of our country—a Constitution founded upon reason and justice and the indelible rights of mankind.

“Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the committee appointed by the meeting of the inhabitants of this Province, on Wednesday, the 27th of July last, together with the deputies who have appeared here on this day, from the different parishes, be a general committee to act; and that any eleven or more of them shall have full power to correspond with the committee of the several Provinces upon the continent; and that copies of these resolutions, as well as all other proceedings, be transmitted, without delay, to the Committees of Correspondence in the respective Provinces.’

“A committee was appointed to receive subscriptions for the suffering poor of Boston, consisting of William Ewen, William Young, Joseph Clay, John Houston, Noble Wimberly Jones, Edward Telfair, John Smith, Samuel Farley, and Andrew Elton Wells, Esqrs.”

Darien (Ga.) Resolutions.

“IN THE DARIEN COMMITTEE,
Thursday, January 12, 1775. }

“When the most valuable privileges of a people are invaded, not only by open violence, but by every kind of fraud, sophistry, and cunning, it behooves every individual to be on his guard, and every member of society, like beacons in a country surrounded by enemies, to give the alarm, not only when their liberties in general are attacked, but separately,

lest a precedent in one may affect the whole; and to enable the collective wisdom of such people to judge of its consequences, and how far their respective grievances concern all, or should be opposed, to preserve their necessary union.

"Every laudable attempt of this kind by the good people of this Colony, in a Constitutional manner, hath been hitherto frustrated by the influence and authority of men in office, and their numerous dependents, and in every other natural and just way, by the various arts they have put in practice. We, therefore, the representatives of the extensive district of Darien, in the Colony of Georgia, being now assembled in Congress by the authority and free choice of the inhabitants of the said district, now freed from their fetters, do resolve—

"1st. That the unparalleled moderation, the decent but firm and manly conduct, of the loyal and brave people of Boston and Massachusetts Bay, to preserve their liberty, deserves not only the applause and thanks of America, but also the imitation of all mankind. But to avoid needless repetition, we acquiesce and join in all the resolutions passed by the grand American Congress in Philadelphia last October."

"5th. To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America (however the uncultivated state of our country, or other specious arguments may plead for it)—a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties (as well as lives), debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest; and is laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity) upon a very wrong foundation. We therefore resolve at all times to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves in this Colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

"ASSOCIATION.

"Being persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of America depend, under God, on the firm union of the inhabitants in its vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend the dissolution of the powers of governments, we, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the Province of Georgia, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the Ministry to raise a revenue in America, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay, do in the most solemn manner resolve never to become slaves, and do associate, under all the ties of religion, honor, and love of country, to

adopt and endeavor to carry into execution whatever may be recommended by the Continental Congress or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention that shall be appointed for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles, which we most ardently desire, can be obtained; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our General Committee to be appointed, respecting the purposes aforesaid—the preservation of peace and good order and the safety of individuals and private property.

[Signed]

“Lachⁿ McIntosh,
John Fulton,
Samuel Fulton,
Isaac Cuthbert,
Isaac Hall,
Jones Newsom,
A. Daniel Cuthbert,
John Hall,
John McCullugh, Sr.,
John McCullugh, Jr.,
William McCullugh,
Paul Judton,
John Roland,
Pr. Shuttleworth,
Joseph Stobe,
To. Bierry,

Geo. Threadcraft,
Chas. McDonald,
John McIntosh,
Ray'd Demere,
Jiles Moore,
Samuel McClelland,
Peter Sallens, Jr.,
James Clark,
Jno. Witherspoon, Jr.,
Jno. Witherspoon,
Reu. Shuttleworth,
John McClelland,
Richard Cooper,
Seth McCullugh,
Thomas King.”

“GEORGIA HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, }
“January, 1775. }

“The House, taking under consideration that the Parliament of Great Britain claim a power of right to bind the people of America by Statute in all cases whatsoever, and who have in some Acts expressly imposed taxes on the Americans, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath established a Board of Commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the duties imposed by the said acts, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of the county.

“And whereas, Standing armies have been and now are kept in America in times of profound peace; and being resolved in Parliament that by force of a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, Colonists may be transported to England and tried there, upon accusations of treasons, and misprisions or concealments of treason committed in the Colonies; and by a late Statute such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned. And whereas, also, Assemblies have been frequently

dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; therefore this House doth, as Englishmen, their ancestors, in like cases have usually done for assisting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare,—

“ 1st. That the inhabitants of the English Colonies of North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights:

“ 2d. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property, and they have never ceded to any Sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either without their consent.

“ 3d. That our ancestors who first settled these Colonies were, at the time of their emigration from the mother-country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England.

“ 4th. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered or lost any of these rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

“ 5th. That the foundation of English liberty and of all free government is a right in the people to participate in the Legislative Council, and, as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where the right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their Sovereigns in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed; but from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

“ 6th. That the respective Colonies are entitled to the Common Law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

“ 7th. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English Statutes as existed at the time of their Colonization, and which they have by experience respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

“ 8th. That his Majesty's Colonies are likewise entitled to

all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of Provincial laws.

"9th. That they have a right peaceably to assemble and consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same are illegal.

"10th. That the keeping a standing army in these Colonies in times of peace, without consent of the legislature of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"11th. And it is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other.

"Resolved, That the exercise of legislative power in any Colony, by a Council appointed during pleasure by the Crown, may prove dangerous and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

"All and each of which the Commons of Georgia, in General Assembly met, do claim, demand, and insist on their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any person whatsoever, without their consent.

"And whereas, There are many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the close of the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

"Resolved, That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the Colonists, and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American Colonies, viz.: The several acts of 4 George the Third, chapter 15 and chapter 34; 5 George the Third, chapter 25; 6 George the Third, chapter 52; 7 George the Third, chapter 41 and chapter 46; 8 George the Third, chapter 22;—which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America; extend the powers of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits; deprive the American subjects of trial by jury; authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might be otherwise entitled to; requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights. Also 12 George the Third, chapter 24, entitled 'An Act for the better securing his Majesty's dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores,' which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subjects of a consti-

tutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person charged with committing any offence described in the said act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

"Also the three acts, passed in the last session of Parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbor of Boston; for altering the Charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled 'An Act for the Better Administration of Justice,' etc.

"Also the act, passed in the same session, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, to the neighboring British Colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

"Also the act, passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America. Also that the keeping a standing army in several of these Colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"Resolved, That this House do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honorable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America both in and out of Parliament.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given to the members of the late Continental Congress for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American liberty.

"Resolved, That . . . be deputies to represent this Province in the intended American Continental Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia on the 10th of May next, or any other place or time as may hereafter be agreed on by the said Congress.

"Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do transmit a copy of the above resolves to the Honourable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, President of the said Congress."

Association

entered into by forty-five of the deputies assembled in Provincial Congress at Savannah, in Georgia, on the 18th of January, 1775, and by them subscribed on the 23d, when they chose Noble Wimberly Jones, Archibald Bullock, and John Houston, Esquires, Delegates to represent that Colony in the Continental Congress to be held in May next:

"Whereas, A non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will probably

prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure to obtain redress of American grievances; we do, therefore, for ourselves and our constituents, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of country, as follows:

"1st. That we will not receive into this Province any goods, wares, or merchandise that shall be shipped from Great Britain or Ireland after the 15th day of March next; or from any other place such goods, wares, or merchandises as shall be shipped from those kingdoms after that time, except such as come under the rules and directions of the ninth article herein mentioned, and except such goods, wares, or merchandises as are absolutely necessary for carrying on the Indian trade, subject nevertheless to the control of the Continental Congress, intended to be held at Philadelphia on the 10th day of May next. Nor will we from this day import or purchase any tea from any part of the world, nor import any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento from the British plantations, or from Dominica, nor wines from Madeira, or the West Indies, nor foreign indigo.

"2d. That we will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported from Africa or elsewhere, after the 15th day of March next.

"3d. That we will not export any merchandise or commodity whatever to Great Britain or Ireland, or to the West Indies, after the 1st day of December next, except rice to Europe.

"4th. Such as are merchants and use the British and Irish trade will give orders as soon as possible to their factors, agents, and correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in Georgia; and if any merchants residing in Great Britain or Ireland shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares, or merchandise for this Province in order to break such non-importation agreement or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connection with said merchant.

"5th. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains or masters not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement on pain of immediate dismissal from their service."

Meeting of the Inhabitants of Savannah, Ga.

"At a meeting of sundry gentlemen at Savannah on Monday, June 26, 1775, it was unanimously,—

"Resolved, That the present acts of Parliament tending to raise a revenue in America are grievances.

“ ‘Resolved, therefore, That we will do all that we legally may to obtain redress of those grievances.

“ ‘Resolved, That Friday, the 30th instant, June, at 9 o'clock A. M., at the house of Mrs. Cuyler, be a day appointed for a meeting, in order to consult the most expedient method to obtain redress.’ ”

“PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF GEORGIA, }
Thursday, July 6, 1775. }

“The order of the day being read, the same was taken into consideration, and after some deliberation it was unanimously,—

“ ‘1. Resolved, That this Province will adopt and carry into execution all and singular the measures and recommendations of the late Continental Congress.

“ ‘2. Resolved in particular, That we, in behalf of ourselves and our constituents, do adopt and approve of the American Declaration or Bill of Rights published by the late Continental Congress, and also of their several resolves made in consequence of some infractions thereof.

“ ‘3. That from and after this day we will not receive into this Province any goods, wares, or merchandise shipped from Great Britain or Ireland; or from any other place any such goods, wares, or merchandise as shall have been exported to Great Britain or Ireland; nor shall we import any East India tea from any part of the world, nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento from the British plantations or from Dominica, nor wines from Madeira or the Western Islands, nor foreign indigo.

“ ‘4. That we will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported from Africa, or elsewhere, after this day.

“ ‘5. As a non-consumption agreement strictly adhered to will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we as above solemnly agree and associate that from this day we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India Company, or any on which a duty hath or shall be paid; and we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever, nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase any of these goods, wares, or merchandise we have agreed not to import, which we shall know or have cause to suspect were imported after this day.

“ ‘6. The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and Ireland and the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation until the tenth day of September, 1775, at which time, if the acts and parts of acts of the British Parliament hereinafter mentioned are not repealed, we will not directly or indirectly export any merchandise or commodity whatever to Great Britain or Ireland or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

“ ‘7. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish

trade, will give orders as soon as possible to their factors, agents, and correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in this Province; and if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares, or merchandise for America in order to break the said non-importation agreement or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connections with such merchant.

"8. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains or masters not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.'

"Monday, July 10, 1775.

"The following resolves were unanimously entered into:

"Whereas, By the unrelenting fury of a despotic Ministry, with a view to enforce the most oppressive acts of a venal and corrupt Parliament, an army of mercenaries, under an unfeeling commander, has actually begun a civil war in America; and whereas the apparent iniquity and cruelty of these destructive measures have however had this good effect, to unite men of all ranks in the common cause; and whereas, to consult on means of safety and the method of obtaining redress, the good people of this Province of Georgia have thought proper to appoint a Provincial Congress,—the delegates met at said Congress, now assembled from every part of the Province, besides adopting the resolutions of the late Continental Congress, find it prudent to enter into such other resolutions as may best express their own sense, and the sense of their constituents, on the present unhappy situation of things; and therefore thought fit and necessary to resolve as follows, viz.:

"Resolved, That we were born free, and are entitled to all the natural rights of mankind.

"Resolved, That by birth or incorporation we are all Britons; and whatever Britons may claim as their birth-rights, is also ours.

"Resolved, That in the British empire, to which we belong, the Constitution is superior to every man or set of men whatever; and that it is a crime of the deepest dye, in any instance, to impair or take it away, or deprive the meanest subject of its benefits.

"Resolved, That in that part of the American continent which we inhabit was originally granted by the Crown and the Charter from Charles the Second, and expressly makes its Constitutional dependence on the Crown only.

"Resolved, That those who would now subject all Amer-

ica, or this Province, to dependency on the Crown and Parliament, are guilty of a very dangerous innovation, which in time will appear as injurious to the Crown as it is inconsistent with the liberty of the American subject.

“Resolved, That by the law of nature and the British Constitution, no man can legally be deprived of his property without his consent, given by himself or his representatives.

“Resolved, That the acts of the British Parliament for raising a perpetual revenue on the Americans by laying a tax on them without their consent and contrary to their protestations, are diametrically opposite to every idea of property, to the spirit of the Constitution, and at one stroke deprives this vast continent of all liberty and property, and as such must be detested by every well-wisher to Great Britain and America.

“Resolved, That the subsequent laws made with a view to enforce these acts, viz,—the Boston Port Bill, the alteration of their Charter, the act to carry beyond sea for trial, and (what refines upon any species of cruelty) the Fishery Bill,—are of such a complexion that we can say nothing about them for want of words to express our abhorrence and detestation.

“Resolved, That the loyalty, patience, and prudence of the inhabitants of New England, under their unparalleled pressures, having been construed into a timidity and dread of regular troops, a civil war in support of acts extremely oppressive in themselves hath actually been begun, and that there is too much reason to believe that plans have been in agitation big with everything horrible to other Provinces—plans as rash, barbarous, and destructive as the cause which they were intended to serve.

“Resolved, That in these times of extreme danger, our Assembly not being permitted to sit, we must either have been a people without all thought or counsel, or have assembled as we now are in Provincial Congress, to consult upon measures which, under God, may prove the means of a perpetual union with the mother-country and tend to the honor, freedom, and safety of both.

“Resolved, That the Province bears all true allegiance to our own rightful sovereign, King George the Third, and always will and ought to bear it, agreeable to the Constitution of Great Britain, by virtue of which only the King is now our sovereign, and which equally bind, Majesty and subjects.

“Resolved, That we are truly sensible how much our happiness and safety depend on a Constitutional connection with Great Britain; and that nothing but the being deprived of the privileges and natural rights of Britons could ever make the thought of a separation otherwise than intolerable.

“ ‘Resolved, That in case his Majesty or his successors shall at any time hereafter make any requisition to the good people of this Province by his representative, it will be just and right that such sums should be granted as the nature of the service may require and the ability and situation of this Province will admit of.

“ ‘Resolved, That this Province join with all the Provinces in America, now met by Delegates in Continental Congress, and that John Houston and Archibald Bullock, Esquires, the Rev. Dr. Zubly, Lyman Hall, and Noble Wimberly Jones, Esquires, be the Delegates from this Province, and that any three constitute a quorum for that purpose.

“ ‘Resolved, That a committee be appointed whose duty it shall be to see that the resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses be duly observed; and that every person who shall act in opposition thereto shall have his name transmitted to the Continental Congress and his misdeeds published in every American paper.”

Temporary Constitution of Georgia.

“Colony of Georgia :

“Whereas, The unwise and iniquitous system of administration obstinately persisted in by the British Parliament and Ministry, against the good people of America, hath at length driven the latter to take up arms, as their last resource, for the preservation of their rights and liberties which God and the Constitution gave them;

“And whereas, An armed force, with hostile intentions against the people of this Province, having lately arrived at Cockspur, his Excellence Sir James Wright, Baronet, the King’s Governor of Georgia, in aid of the views of Administration, and with a design to add to those inconveniences which necessarily flow from a state of confusion, suddenly and unexpectedly withdrew himself from his government, carrying off the great seal of the Province with him;

“And whereas in consequence of this and other events, doubts have arisen with the several magistrates how far they are authorized to act under their former appointments, and the greatest part of them have absolutely refused to do so, whereby all judicial powers are become totally suspended, to the great danger of persons and property:

“1st. That there shall be a President and Commander-in-Chief appointed by ballot in this Congress for six months, or during the time above specified.

“2d. That there shall in like manner, and for the like time, be also a Council of Safety, consisting of thirteen persons (besides the five Delegates to the general Congress), appointed to act in the nature of a Privy Council to the said president or commander-in-chief.

“3d. That the President shall be invested with all the

executive powers of Government, not inconsistent with what is hereafter mentioned, but shall be bound to consult and follow the advice of the said Council in all cases whatsoever; and any seven of the said Council shall be a quorum for the purpose of advising.

"4th. That all the laws, whether common or statute, and the acts of Assembly which have formerly been acknowledged to be of force in this Province, and which do not interfere with the proceedings of the Continental or our Provincial Congresses, and also all and singular the resolves and recommendations of the said Continental and Provincial Congresses, shall be of full force, validity, and effect, until otherwise ordered.

"5th. That there shall be a chief-justice, and two assistant judges, an attorney-general, a provost-marshal, and clerk of the Court of Sessions appointed by ballot to serve during the pleasure of the Congress. The Court of Sessions or Oyer and Terminer shall be opened and held on the second Tuesday in June and December, and the former rules and method of proceeding, as nearly as may be, shall be observed in summoning of juries, and all other cases whatever.

"6th. That the president or commander-in-chief, with the advice of the Council as before mentioned, shall appoint magistrates to act during pleasure in the several parishes throughout this Province; and such magistrates shall conform themselves as nearly as may be to the old-established form and methods of proceeding.

"7th. That all legislative powers shall be reserved to the Congress; and no person who holds any place of profit, civil or military, shall be eligible as a member, either of the Congress or Council of Safety."

Georgia Council of Safety.

"At a meeting of the Council of Safety, 30th April, 1776, Present: John Wereat, Benjamin Andrews, George Walton, John Girardeau, Samuel Salters, Jonathan Bryan, Daniel Roberts,—

"Resolved, That the following address be presented to his Excellency the president; and that Messrs. Wereat and Roberts do wait on his Excellency to know when he will be pleased to receive the same:

"*To his Excellency Archibald Bullock, Esquire, President and Commander-in-chief of the Province of Georgia:*

"The address of the Council of Safety for the said Province:

"May it please your Excellency: The long session of the late Congress, together with the season of the year, called particularly for a speedy recess; and the House having adjourned while you were out of town, it becomes more par-

ticularly necessary for us to address your Excellency. All therefore, with unfeigned confidence and regard, beg leave to congratulate, not only your Excellency on your appointment to, but your country on your acceptance of, the supreme command in this Province.

“It would be needless and tedious to recount the various, and yet multiplying oppressions, which have driven the people of this Province to erect that government which they have called upon you to see executed; suffice it then to declare that it was only an alternative of anarchy and misery, and by consequence, the effect of dire necessity.

“Your Excellency will know that it was the endeavor of the Congress to stop every avenue of vice and oppression lest the infant virtue of a still more infant Province might in time rankle into corruption; and we doubt not that by your Excellency's exertions all the resolutions made or adopted by Congress will be enforced with firmness without any regard to any individual or any set of men; for no government can be said to be established while any part of the community refuses submission to its authority. In the discharge of this arduous and important task your Excellency may rely on our constant and best endeavors to assist and support you.’

“Messrs. John Wereat and Daniel Roberts waited on the president, who informed them that he would be ready to receive their address on to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.’

“May 1, 1776.

“The board waited on his Excellency the president with their address, to which he was pleased to give the following answer:

“*To the Honourable the Members of the Council of Safety of the Province of Georgia:*

“HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN: I am much obliged to you for your kind expressions of congratulation on my appointment to the supreme command of this Colony.

“When I reflect from whence the appointment is derived,—that of the free and uncorrupt suffrages of my fellow-citizens,—it cannot fail to stimulate me to the most vigorous exertions in the discharge of the important duties to which I am called by our Provincial Congress. While I have the advice and assistance of gentlemen of known integrity and abilities, I doubt not but I shall be enabled to enforce and carry into execution every resolve and law of Congress. And as far as lies with me, my country may depend I will with a becoming firmness and the greatest impartiality, always endeavour to cause justice in mercy to be executed,

“ARCHIBALD BULLOCK.’”

"WILLIAMSBURG, VA., }
June 15, 1776." }

"This day arrived in town from Georgia, on his way to the general Congress, George Walton, Esq., one of the Delegates from that Province; also Lieutenants Walton and Pannell on the recruiting service. By these gentlemen we learn that the Constitution of Georgia have authorized their Delegates in Congress to concur in any scheme which may be proposed for the benefit of the United Colonies, even to a total separation from Great Britain, and that in the meanwhile a form of government had been established in the Province."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE Continental Congress was a popular convention, not differently constituted from the party conventions of the present day. It is true that the Delegates from some of the Colonies were authorized or elected by the General Assemblies; but others were chosen by popular meetings or conventions. Even those who were sent up by the Assemblies could be clothed with no legal authority, for the reason that there was no authority given in the Colonial Charters for organizing a federal legislature.

It is also true that it was no part of the policy of the Colonies to confer legislative authority upon the Federal Congress; and such authority was never given until the Constitution was adopted. The Congress could declare war, raise armies, appoint commanders, and even declare independence. It could declare what revenues were necessary to support and equip the armies, and how much should be contributed by each Colony; but it could not levy and collect taxes in any form. It could not pass a tariff act of duties on imported goods; nor impose direct taxes; nor establish a system of excise laws, or taxes upon consumption. And in the want of this power of taxation, it wanted everything essential to a government. Nothing but the patriotic devotion of the people to the common cause of liberty gave any strength to this voluntary system; and nothing else gave any force to the ordinances and resolutions of the Congress. No authority to enact laws was ever asserted or claimed by the Congress.

In November, 1777, after the revolted Colonies had become States, an effort was made to give legality to the Congress, by the adoption of Articles of Confederation. But the new States were still too tenacious of their individual sovereignty to part with the power of taxation. The result was that the "Congress of the Confederation" remained as weak as the "Continental Congress" had been. The Articles, indeed

were not adopted or ratified by all the States, and put in force until March, 1781, only eight months before the last battle for independence was fought, at Yorktown. It would be difficult to point to a single clause or section of the Articles which conferred any additional power upon the Congress which had not been exercised from 1775 forward.

The Articles of Confederation are as follows:

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION BETWEEN
THE STATES.

The following have been critically compared with the original Articles of Confederation in the Department of State, and found to conform minutely to them in text, letter, and punctuation. It may therefore be relied upon as a true copy:*

"TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, WE THE UNDERSIGNED DELEGATES OF THE STATES AFFIXED TO OUR NAMES, SEND GREETING. —Whereas the Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did on the 15th day of November in the year of our Lord 1777, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, in the words following, viz.

"ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION BETWEEN THE STATES OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, CONNECTICUT, NEW-YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, NORTH-CAROLINA, SOUTH-CAROLINA, AND GEORGIA.

"ARTICLE I. The Stile of this Confederacy shall be 'The United States of America.'

"ARTICLE II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

"ARTICLE III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

"ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this union, the free inhabitants of each of

*Hickey's Constitution.

these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from Justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other state of which the Owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any state, on the property of the United States or either of them.

"If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from Justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall upon demand of the Governor or executive power, of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

"Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

"ARTICLE V. For the more convenient management of the general interest of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State, to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the Year.

"No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

"Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

"In determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

"Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court, or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

"ARTICLE VI. No State without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy

to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign State; nor shall the United States in congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

"No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, Confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

"No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

"No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

"No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted: nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or State and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

"ARTICLE VII. When land-forces are raised by any State

for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of Colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

"ARTICLE VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled, shall from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

"ARTICLE IX. The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the 6th article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

"The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a

day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, 'well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favour, affection or hope of reward:' provided also that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

"All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting the territorial jurisdiction between different States.

"The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the

alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing or regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing thro' the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

“The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated ‘A Committee of the States,’ and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of President more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of Money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a soldier like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: But if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they

shall raise, officer, cloath, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

"The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a Commander-in-Chief of the Army or Navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

"The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the Journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the Journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said Journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislature of the several States.

"ARTICLE X. The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

"ARTICLE XI. Canada acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this union: but no other Colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

"ARTICLE XII. All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed

and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

"ARTICLE XIII. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation is submitted to them. And the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

"And Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual union. Know Ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said Confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the state of Pennsylvania the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1778, and in the 3d year of the Independence of America.

" Josiah Bartlett,	John Wentworth, jun., August 8, 1778	{ On the part and behalf of the state of New Hamp- shire.
John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry,	Francis Dana, James Lovell, Samuel Holten	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Massachusetts- Bay.
William Ellery, Henry Marchant,	John Collins	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations.
Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott,	Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adam	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Connecticut.
Jas. Duane, Fras. Lewis,	William Duer, Gouv. Morris	{ On the part and behalf of the state of New-York.

Jno. Witherspoon,	Nathl. Scudder	{ On the part and behalf of the state of New-Jersey, November 26th, 1778.
Robt. Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jon'a. Bayard Smith, Tho. M'Kean, Feb. 12, 1779, John Dickinson, May 5, 1779,	William Clingan, Joseph Reed, 22d July, 1778	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Pennsylvania.
John Hanson, March 1st, 1781,	Nicholas Van Dyke	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Delaware.
Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams,	Daniel Carroll, March 1st, 1781,	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Maryland.
	Jno. Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Virginia.
John Penn, July 1st, 1778,	Corns Harnett, Jno. Williams	{ On the part and behalf of the state of North Caroli- na.
Henry Laurens, William Henry Drayton, Jno. Matthews,	Rich'd Hutson, Thos. Heyward, jun.,	{ On the part and behalf of the state of South Caroli- na.
Jno. Walton, 24th July, 1778,	Edward Telfair, Edw'd Langworthy,	{ On the part and behalf of the state of Georgia."

The reader of American history will recall the many and often fruitless appeals of the Congress, and of Washington as the head of the army, upon the States, for compliance with the requisitions which were made upon them. Great losses of opportunity were incurred, and failures were caused, by the tardiness or neglect of the States to pay their quotas of money; and in many cases nothing but the immediate danger of invasion by the enemy could spur the laggard Assemblies, and induce them to impose and collect the necessary taxes.

The historical fact that independence was achieved by the force of patriotic fervor, unsupported by authority in the Federal government, is eminently honorable to the American people. But it soon became manifest, when the struggle was over, that the voluntary principle in the Federal head was not equal to the task of paying the national debt, providing pensions for the soldiers, nor even of holding the States under a common government, which was acknowledged to be essential to the maintenance of independence. All attempts to confer the taxing power upon the Congress during the war had failed; but now it had become a question of life or death to the Union, and the wise and able men North and South united in common efforts to form a more

perfect union. Slowly the people came to see and acquiesce in the necessity.

Even before the articles went into effect, March 1, 1781, their inadequacy to the wants of the Union was perceived; and in February of that year, a member of the Congress from New Jersey moved that the States be called on to confer upon that body the power to raise revenue by duties on imports. This recommendation was adopted, and the States one by one acquiesced in it except Rhode Island. The Legislature of that State refused to confer the power for the reasons,—

First, "That the proposed duty would be unequal in its operation, bearing hardest upon the most commercial States, and so would press peculiarly hard upon that State, which draws its chief support from commerce."

Second, "That the recommendation proposes to introduce into that and the other States officers unknown and unaccountable to them, and so is against the Constitution of the State."

Third objection, "That by granting to Congress a power to collect moneys from the commerce of these States indefinitely as to time and quantity, and for the expenditure of which they would not be accountable to the States, they would become independent of their constituents and so the proposed impost is repugnant to the liberty of the United States."

These objections of Rhode Island to the recommendation of Congress were forwarded to that body by the speaker of the Assembly; whereupon Messrs. Alexander Hamilton of New York, James Madison of Virginia, and Thomas Fitzsimmons of Pennsylvania were appointed a committee to take them into consideration. Their report is one of the most able and lucid documents of the Revolutionary period. It was approved by the Congress.

Similar resolutions or recommendations to the States were adopted by Congress, urging that Congress be invested with authority to raise revenue for the purpose of restoring and maintaining the lost credit of the Union. The resolutions were forwarded to the States, accompanied by an address prepared by Messrs. Madison, Ellsworth, and Hamilton. The reply to the Rhode Island Assembly was from the pen of Mr. Hamilton. This address to the States was written by Mr. Madison. It concludes with the following memorable passage:

"Let it be remembered, finally, that it has ever been the pride and boast of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessings of the Author of these rights, on the means exerted for their defence, they have prevailed against all opposition, and form the basis of thirteen independent States. No in-

stance has therefore occurred, nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If justice, good faith, honor, gratitude, and all the other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation and fulfil the ends of government be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed, and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favorable influence on the rights of mankind. If, on the other side, our government should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of these cardinal and essential virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed, the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends exposed to be insulted and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation."

Apart from the impossibility of raising the necessary revenue to support the general government and pay the interest of the public debt, there was the great embarrassment of commerce resulting from the conflicting regulations of the thirteen States. Great Britain, although constrained by the pressure of circumstances, to concede independence, took pleasure in crippling the trade of the republic.

It became eminently expedient, therefore, for the States to concede to Congress the power to regulate commerce; and on the 30th April, 1784, the subject was taken up, on the report of a committee consisting of Messrs. Gerry of Massachusetts, Reed of Pennsylvania, Williamson of North Carolina, Chase of Maryland, and Jefferson of Virginia, to whom had been referred sundry letters and papers relative to commercial matters. Among the complaints, as stated in the report as approved by the Congress, was the statement that "Already has Great Britain adopted regulations destructive of our commerce with the West India Islands. . . . It would be the duty of Congress, as it is their wish, to meet the attempts of Great Britain with similar restrictions on her commerce; but their powers on this head are not explicit, and the propositions made by the legislatures of the several States render it necessary to take the general sense of the Union on this subject. Unless the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be vested with powers competent to the protection of commerce, they can never command reciprocal advantages in trade; and without these, our foreign commerce must decline and eventually be annihilated."

The Congress therefore resolved,—

"That it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States, in Congress assembled, to invest Congress for the term of fifteen years with power to prohibit any goods, wares, or merchandise from being imported into or exported from any of the States in vessels belonging to or navigated by the subjects of any power with whom these States shall not have formed treaties of commerce.

"Resolved, That it be and it hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States to vest the United States, in Congress assembled, for the term of fifteen years, with the power of prohibiting the subjects of any foreign state, kingdom, or empire, unless authorized by treaty, from importing into the United States any goods, wares, or merchandise which are not the produce or manufacture of the dominions of the sovereign whose subjects they are.

"Provided, That to all acts of the United States, in Congress assembled, in pursuance of the above powers, the assent of nine States shall be necessary."

These propositions of the Congress to the States, like those asking for power to impose duties on imports, were never assented to.

July 13, 1785, The Congress took into consideration a proposition of Mr. Monroe, of Virginia, to vest in that body the power to regulate trade; but past experience suggested the propriety of leaving it to the State Legislatures to initiate proceedings of the kind.

February 15, 1786, the subject was again up before the Congress, and a committee to whom it was referred—consisting of Mr. King of Massachusetts, Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Mr. Kean of Pennsylvania, Mr. Monroe of Virginia, and Mr. Pettit of Pennsylvania—made a report setting forth the inefficiency of the confederation; in which it is said that,—

"In the course of this inquiry, it most clearly appeared that the requisitions of Congress for eight years past have been so irregular in their operation, and so evidently unproductive, that a reliance on them in future as a source from whence moneys are to be drawn to discharge the engagements of the Confederacy, definite as they are in time and amount, would be not less dishonourable to the understandings of those who entertain such confidence that it would be dangerous to the welfare and peace of the Union. The committee are therefore seriously impressed with the indispensable obligation that Congress are under, of representing to the immediate and impartial consideration of the several States the utter impossibility of maintaining and preserving the faith of the Federal Government by temporary requisitions on the States, and the consequent necessity of an early and complete accession of all the States to the revenue system of the 18th of April, 1783."

It was resolved, by Congress, in conformity with this report, that the system of general revenue recommended on the 18th of April, 1783, be again presented to the consideration of the State Legislatures.

It was not surprising that the States refused to clothe the Congress of the Confederation with the power of taxation, and with other attributes of government, in view of the radical defects in its organization. It was a fundamental principle with the Confederation that each State was the equal in power and authority with any other, without the slightest regard to wealth or population. Each State, upon every measure, was entitled to but one vote, however many Delegates they might send to the Congress. They must send at least two, and might send seven; but whether two or seven, they could cast but one vote. This arrangement placed Delaware and Rhode Island on an equality of power with Virginia and Massachusetts, or with Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and New York. The principle was wrong; and it is well that the power of taxation was not conferred on that condition. It is true that nearly all the States agreed to confer the powers asked for, but upon various conditions, which rendered their consent of no avail.

At length a movement was made in the Virginia Legislature which led to the call of a convention with larger powers in the remodelling of the Federal system of government. On the 21st of January, 1786, the House of Delegates of that State came to the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Junior, Walter Jones, Saint George Tucker, Merriwether Smith, David Ross, William Ronald, and George Mason, Esquires, be appointed commissioners who, or any five of whom, shall meet such commissioners as may be appointed by the other States in the Union, at a time and place to be agreed on, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situations and trade of the States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several States such an act relative to this great object as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States, in Congress assembled, effectually to provide for the same; that the said commissioners shall immediately transmit to the several States copies of the preceding resolution, with a circular letter requesting their concurrence therein and proposing a time and place for the meeting aforesaid."

The Legislatures of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware promptly responded to this proposition, and sent their delegates to meet those of Virginia at Annapolis, in Maryland, September 11th, of the same year, 1786.

They were in session only three days. Commissioners

were also appointed from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina; but they failed to reach Annapolis in time. Those who met—consisting of Alexander Hamilton and Egbert Benson, from New York; Abram Clarke, William C. Houston, and James Schureman, from New Jersey; Tench Coxe, from Pennsylvania; George Read, John Dickinson, and Richard Bassett, from Delaware; and Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Jr., and St. George Tucker, from Virginia—agreed upon a report. In this important document they refrained, as they say, from carrying out the original purpose of the meeting by proposing specific measures. They do so because of the failure of the other States to send delegates; but they venture to recommend another meeting of commissioners from all the States, with enlarged powers. The New Jersey Legislature had authorized her commissioners “to consider how far an uniform system in their commercial regulations, and other important matters, might be necessary to the common interest and permanent harmony of the several States.” This suggestion from New Jersey is made use of, by the authors of the address, to hint more pointedly at the importance of another convention, with enlarged powers, looking to a remodelling of the Articles of Confederation. They say:

“In this persuasion your commissioners submit an opinion, that the idea of extending the powers of their deputies to other objects than those of commerce, which has been adopted by the State of New Jersey, was an improvement on the original plan, and will deserve to be incorporated into that of a future convention. They are the more naturally led to this conclusion, as, in the course of their reflections on the subject, they have been induced to think that the power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of Federal government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts concerning its precise nature and limits, may require a correspondent adjustment of other parts of the Federal system.”

The commissioners suggest that the defects of the existing system of Federal government might be found to be greater and more numerous than was implied in the resolutions of the State Legislatures. They therefore propose “that a convention of deputies from the different States, for the special and sole purpose of entering into this investigation, and digesting a plan for supplying such defects as may be discovered to exist,” etc. And they propose that the commissioners to be thus appointed by the States shall meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next.

This address was sent to the Governors of the several States, and to the Congress. The latter body, February 21, 1787, took the address into consideration, and came to the following conclusion:

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several States, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

A majority of the States had acquiesced in the proposition, and agreed to send delegates to the proposed convention, before the plan was approved by Congress.

The General Assembly of Virginia adopted it, October 16, 1786, and decided to send seven commissioners. These were chosen by ballot of the two Houses, December 4th of the same year. They were George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, George Mason, and George Wythe, Esquires. Mr. Henry declined the appointment, and James McClurg, Esq., was appointed in his place by the Governor and Council.

The Council and Assembly of New Jersey, November 23, 1786, appointed Messrs. David Brearley, William Churchill Houston, William Paterson, and John Neilson, Esqs., as commissioners to the convention. On the 8th of May following, the Governor, William Livingston, and Abram Clark were added to the delegation, and Mr. Neilson's name is omitted. On the 5th of June, Jonathan Dayton, Esq., was appointed from the same State.

The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, December 30, 1786, appointed seven deputies to the convention, as follows: Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Fitzsimmons, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris, Esqs. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was president of the Commonwealth; and by a supplemental act of March 28, 1787, his name was added to the list of deputies.

The General Assembly of North Carolina, January 6, 1787, passed an act for the appointment of five delegates to the convention, and elected Richard Caswell, the Governor, with Alexander Martin, William Richardson Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Willie Jones, Esqs. Governor Caswell declined the appointment, and, by authority given by the act, he appointed William Blount, Esq., to fill the vacancy. On the third day of April, Governor Caswell appointed Hugh Williamson, Esq., in place of Willie Jones, declined.

The General Assembly of Delaware, February 3, 1787, appointed George Read, Gunning Bedford, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, and Jacob Broom, Esqs., as deputies to the Convention.

The General Assembly of the State of Georgia, February 10, 1787, appointed William Few, Abraham Baldwin, William Pierce, George Walton, William Houston, and Nathaniel Pendleton, Esqs., as commissioners to the Convention.

The General Assembly of the State of New York, February 28, 1787, resolved to send three delegates to the Convention; and on March 6th, Messrs. Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., and Alexander Hamilton, Esqs., were chosen for the purpose.

The Legislature of South Carolina, March 8, 1787, appointed John Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Pierce Butler, Esqs., as delegates to the Convention.

The General Court of Massachusetts, March 10, 1787, appointed Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong, Esqs., as delegates to the Convention.

The State of Connecticut, by an act of the General Assembly of the second Thursday of May, 1787, appointed William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth, Esqs., as delegates to the Convention.

The Legislature of Maryland, May 26, 1787, appointed James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin, Esqs., as delegates to the Convention.

The Legislature of New Hampshire, June 27, 1787, appointed John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West to be delegates to the Convention.

In Convention.

The delegates thus appointed by the several States met in Convention in Philadelphia, Monday, May 14, 1787. They chose George Washington, one of the delegates from Virginia, as President of the body, and William Jackson, Secretary.

The Convention sat from day to day until the 17th of September, when, having completed their labors, they submitted the Constitution as the result thereof to the Congress, with the recommendation that it should be submitted to a Convention of each State, to be called by the several Legislatures, for ratification; and,—

“That it is the opinion of this Convention, that, as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States, in Congress assembled, should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under the Constitution; that after such publication, the electors should be ap-

pointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected; that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of President, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States, in Congress assembled; that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for President; and that, after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should without delay proceed to execute this Constitution."

The Convention, by its president, General Washington, addressed a letter to the president of Congress, in the following words:

"In CONVENTION, }
September 17, 1787. }

"SIR: We have now the honor to submit to the United States, in Congress assembled, that Constitution which has appeared to us most advisable.

"The friends of our country have long seen and desired that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident: hence results the necessity of a different organization.

"It is obviously impracticable, in the Federal Government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstances as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

"In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession

which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

"That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider that, had her interest been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe. That it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

"With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servants.

"By unanimous order of the Convention.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President*.

"His Excellency, the President of Congress."

"On the 28th of September, 1787, the Congress unanimously resolved (all the States being present but Rhode Island) to transmit the Constitution, with the resolutions and letter of the Convention, to the Legislatures of the several States. Whereupon, conventions of the States were chosen and convened; and, after great deliberation and debate, the Constitution was ratified by them, in the following order:

By Delaware	on the	7th December,	1787.
" Pennsylvania	"	12th "	1787.
" New Jersey	"	18th "	1787.
" Georgia	"	2d January,	1788.
" Connecticut	"	9th "	1788.
" Massachusetts	"	6th February,	1788.
" Maryland	"	28th April,	1788.
" South Carolina	"	23d May,	1788.
" New Hampshire	"	21st June,	1788.
" Virginia	"	26th "	1788.
" New York	"	26th July,	1788.
" North Carolina	"	21st November,	1789.
" Rhode Island	"	29th May,	1790.

"The Congress, in compliance with the recommendation of the Convention, proceeded, on September 13, 1788, to direct the organization of the Government, under the Constitution. The order of that body, to this end, was as follows:

"Resolved, That the first Wednesday in January next be the day for appointing electors in several States, which before said day shall have ratified the said Constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective States, and vote for a President; and that the first Wednesday in March next be the time, and the present seat of Congress (New York) the place, for commencing the proceedings under the said Constitution."

Electors were chosen in the several States which had ratified the Constitution; that is to say, in all except North Carolina and Rhode Island. Members of the House of Representatives, and Senators, were also chosen. The electors met on the first Wednesday in February, and cast their votes for a President and Vice-president. The first Congress was to have met on the first Wednesday in March, which was the 4th day of the month, but no quorum appeared in either House. The few members present in New York, continued to assemble and adjourn from day to day, until, on the 1st of April, the necessary number met in the House of Representatives, which body proceeded to elect a speaker, when the choice fell upon Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Esq., of Pennsylvania.

A quorum in the Senate appeared on the 6th of April, when the body proceeded to elect a President *pro tempore*, in order that the votes for President and Vice-president might be opened and counted. John Langdon, Esq., of New Hampshire, was chosen. The two Houses assembled in joint session, when the electoral votes were opened and counted on the same day. George Washington received every vote (69), and was therefore declared to be elected President. John Adams of Massachusetts received 34 votes, or a plurality, and was therefore declared to be duly elected Vice-president, under the Constitution as originally framed. The second article, which regulated the choice of President and Vice-president, provided that the person having the highest number of votes, "if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed," shall be President; but no such requirement was made in regard to the Vice-president: and it was sufficient that, "after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be Vice-president."

The 12th Amendment, which was adopted in consequence of the failure to elect in 1800, by the electors, provides that separate votes by the electors shall be cast for the President and for Vice-president; and in each case, a majority vote of all the electors is necessary to a choice. Otherwise the House of Representatives is to elect.

Mr. Adams assumed his duties as President of the Senate on April 21, 1789. President Washington was inaugurated in New York City, April 30, 1789, in the gallery, in front of the Senate-chamber. The oath of office was administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York, who proclaimed, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The President then returned to the Senate-chamber and delivered his inaugural speech in the presence of the two Houses and many citizens.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I.

"SECTION. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

"SECTION. 2. (1) The Houses of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

"(2) No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

"(3) Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

"(4) When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

"(5) The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall leave the sole Power of Impeachment.

"SECTION. 3. (1) The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the

Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

“(2) Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

“(3) No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

“(4) The Vice-president of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

“(5) The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice-president, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

“(6) The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

“(7) Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and Disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honour, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

“SECTION. 4. (1) The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

“(2) The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

“SECTION. 5. (1) Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day,

and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

"(2) Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

"(3) Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy, and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

"(4) Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

"SECTION. 6. (1) The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

"(2) No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

"SECTION. 7. (1) All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

"(2) Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the

President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

"(3) Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

"SECTION. 8. The Congress shall have Power

"(1) To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

"(2) To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

"(3) To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

"(4) To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

"(5) To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

"(6) To provide for the Punishment of Counterfeiting the Securities and Current Coin of the United States;

"(7) To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

"(8) To promote the progress of Science and Useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

"(9) To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

"(10) To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

"(11) To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

"(12) To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

"(13) To provide and maintain a Navy;

"(14) To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

"(15) To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

"(16) To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining

the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the Appointment of the Officers and the Authority of training the Militia according to the Discipline prescribed by Congress;

“(17) To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—and

“(18) To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.”

“SECTION. 9. (1) The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

“(2) The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

“(3) No bill of attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

“(4) No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

“(5) No Tax or Duty shall be paid on Articles exported from any State.

“(6) No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

“(7) No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

“(8) No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or Foreign State.

“SECTION. 10. (1) No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing

but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

“(2) No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

“(3) No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

“ARTICLE. II.

“SECTION 1. (1) The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

“(2) Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[* The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A Quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from twothirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In

* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the 12th amendment, on page 385.

every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]

“(3) The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

“(4) No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

“(5) In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

“(6) The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

“(7) Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—

“‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.’

“SECTION. 2. (1) The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

“(2) He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but

the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

“(3) The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

“SECTION. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

“SECTION. 4. The President, Vice-President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

“ARTICLE III.

“SECTION. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

“SECTION. 2. (1) The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

“(2) In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

“(3) The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trials shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

“SECTION. 3. (1) Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

“(2) The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

“ARTICLE. IV.

“SECTION. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

“SECTION. 2. (1) The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

“(2) A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

“(3) No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

“SECTION. 3. (1) New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

“(2) The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

“SECTION. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every

State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

“ARTICLE. V.

“The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

“ARTICLE. VI.

“(1) All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

“(2) This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

“(3) The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall be ever required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

“ARTICLE. VII.

“The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

“DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United

States of America the Twelfth. IN WITNESS whereof
We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

“GEO WASHINGTON—

“Presidt and deputy from Virginia

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon,

Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham,

Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.

Wm. Saml. Johnson,

Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.

Wil: Livingston,

David Brearley,

Wm. Paterson,

Jona. Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

B. Franklin,

Thomas Mifflin,

Robt. Morris,

Geo: Clymer,

Tho: Fitzsimons,

Jared Ingersoll,

James Wilson,

Gouv: Morris.

DELAWARE.

Geo: Read,

Gunning Bedford, Jun'r,

John Dickinson,

Richard Bassett.

Jaco: Broom,

MARYLAND.

James M'Henry,

Dan: of St. Thos. Jenifer.

Danl. Carroll,

VIRGINIA.

John Blair,

James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Wm. Blount,

Rich'd Dobbs Spaight.

Hu. Williamson,

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. Rutledge,

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,

Charles Pinckney,

Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Few,

Abr. Baldwin.

Attest:

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*”

The Constitution was adopted on the 17th September,
1787, by the convention appointed in pursuance of the reso-

lution of the Congress of the Confederation, of the 21st February, 1787, and was ratified by the conventions of the several States, in the order stated on a preceding page.

Several of the state conventions made it a condition of ratification, that certain amendments should be added, in the nature of a Bill of Rights. These conditional ratifications could not be regarded as valid, and they were only in part complied with.

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

“(ARTICLE I.)

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

“(ARTICLE II.)

“A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

“(ARTICLE III.)

“No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

“(ARTICLE IV.)

“The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

“(ARTICLE V.)

“No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval force, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for

the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

“(ARTICLE VI.)

“In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

“(ARTICLE VII.)

“In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

“(ARTICLE VIII.)

“Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

“(ARTICLE IX.)

“The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

“(ARTICLE X.)

“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

“(ARTICLE XI.)

“The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

“(ARTICLE XII.)

“The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person

voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

The Inaugural Speech of Washington

is as follows:

“FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxiety than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country—whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love—from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every

day more necessary, as well as more dear, to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is that, if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

“Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate, to the liberties and happiness of the people of United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings

which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

“By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President ‘to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.’ The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges that, as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

“Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system or by the degree of inquietude which

has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for, I assure myself, that, whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding, with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government for the security of their Union and the advancement of their happiness, so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

INDEX.

CONNECTICUT.

Act of Parliament burnt, 145.
 Adam, Andrew, 361.
 Arnold, Benedict, 157.
 Babcock, Mr. Adam, 157.
 Beebe, Dr., 151.
 Benedict, Mr. Zadock, 156.
 Bishop, Mr. Samuel, 157.
 Comstock, Mr. Andrew, 156.
 Connecticut, 25, 144, 354, 361, 369, 383.
 Connecticut Assembly, 149.
 Connecticut Resolutions 146.
 Connecticut instructs her Delegates to vote for Independence, 158.
 Danbury Town Meeting Proceedings, 154.
 Deane, Silas, Esq., 84, 157.
 Delegate Meeting at Hartford, 151.
 Durkee, Mr., 26, 27, 28.
 Dyer, Eliphalet, Esq., 84.
 Ellsworth, Esq., Oliver, 363, 369.
 Fairfield Committee Proceedings, 156.
 Fitch, Gov. of Conn., 25, 26, 30.
 Gazette, The, 145.
 Glastenbury Public Meeting, 144, 149.
 Hait, Capt. David, 154.
 Hollister, historian, 25, 28, 144, 156, 158.
 Hollister, statement by, 158.
 Hollister, Capt. Elisha, 145.
 Hosmer, Titus, 361.
 Humphreys, General, 28.
 Huntington, Sam'l, 95, 361.
 Hutton, Mr. Samuel, 154.
 Ingersoll, Jared, Esq., Stamp-distributor, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 46.
 Jarvis, S., 154.
 Johnson, William Samuel, Esq., 8, 369, 383.
 Lebanon, 25.
 Lloyd, Mr. John, 154.
 Lyman, David, Esq., J. P., 30.
 McLean, Mr. John, 156.
 Munford, Mr. Thomas, 157.
 New Haven, 26.
 New London, 25.

Non-importation agreement, 144.
 Norwich, 25.
 Norwich Resolutions, 149.
 Parsons, Samuel Holden, Esq., 157.
 People, 27.
 Porter, Mr. Joshua, 157.
 Putnam, Col. Israel, 30.
 Root, Jesse, 157.
 Sherman, Roger, Esq., 84, 95, 361, 369, 383.
 Silliman, Mr. Ebenezer, 156.
 Stamford Town Meeting Resolutions, 153.
 Stamp Act in Connecticut, 25.
 Stevens, Capt. Thomas, 154.
 Starr, Capt. Daniel, 156.
 Taylor, Mr. Major, 156.
 Trumbull, Col. Jonathan, 25, 158.
 Weed, Capt. Chas., 154.
 Wells, Mr. Chas., 157.
 Wethersfield, 26.
 Windham, 25.
 Windham Town proceedings, 150.
 Williams, Ezekiel, 157.
 Williams, William, Esq., 157.
 Wolcott, Oliver, 95, 361.
 Wyllis, Capt. Samuel, 153, 157.
 Young, Capt. Samuel, 154.

Delaware Assembly Resolutions, 241, 243.
 Dickinson, John, Esq., 362, 367, 368, 383.
 Evans, John, Esq., 234, 366.
 Haslet, John, 236.
 Kent Co. Resolutions, 235.
 Killen, Mr. Wm., 234, 236.
 Latimer, Mr. James, New Castle, 234.
 Lockwood, Richard, Esq., 236.
 Manlove, Mr. Boaz, 234.
 McKean, Thomas, Esq., 84, 95, 234, 240, 243, 362.
 McKinley, Mr. John, New Castle, 234, 240.
 New Castle Co. Committee, 240.
 Porter, Mr. Alex., New Castle, 234.
 Read, George, Esq., 84, 95, 234, 240, 241, 242, 367, 368, 383.
 Ridgely, Chas., Esq., 236, 242.
 Robinson, Mr. Thomas, 234.
 Rodney, Caesar, Esq., 84, 95, 234, 236, 239, 240, 241.
 Rodney, Thomas, 236.
 Stamp Act, 46.
 Stout, Jacob, 236.
 Sussex Co. Resolutions, 236.
 Sykes, James, 236.
 Thompson, Mr. David, Sussex Co., 234, 240.
 Townsend, Mr. Stephen, Sussex Co., 234.
 Van Dyke, Nicholas, 362.
 Wells, James, 236.
 Wiltbank, Mr. John, Sussex Co., 234.

DELAWARE.

Bassett, Richard, 236, 367, 368, 383.
 Bedford, Gunning, Jr., 368, 383.
 Booth, Mr. James, 243.
 Broom, Jacob, 368, 383.
 Clark, Jno., Esq., 236, 240, 242.
 Clewes, Mr., 242.
 Collins, Mr. Thos., 234, 236.
 Continental Association approved, 240.
 Crapper, Zadock, 236.
 Cropper, Mr. Levin, 234.
 Delaware, 46, 234, 354, 362, 367, 368, 383.
 Delaware Convention, 234, 237.
 Delaware Convention Resolves, 234, 239.

GEORGIA.

Address to the People, 338.
 Angus, Mr., Stamp-distributor, 66.
 Baldwin, Abraham, 369, 383.
 Bierry, Thomas, 342.
 Bryan, Jonathan, Esq., 338.
 Bullock, Archibald, Esq., 339, 345, 352.
 Clark, James, 342.
 Clay, Joseph, 342.
 Cockspur, 67.

- Cooper, Richard, 342.
 Creighton, Alexander, 338.
 Cuthbert, Isaac, 342.
 Cuthbert, Daniel A., 342.
 Cuyler, Mrs., 347.
 Darien Resolutions, 340.
 Darien Association, 341.
 Demere, Raymond, 342.
 Ewen, William, 340.
 Farley, Samuel, 340.
 Few, Wm, Esq., 339, 383.
 Fort George, Cockspur Island, 67.
 Fulton, John, 342.
 Fulton, Samuel, 342.
 Georgia, 60, 337, 354, 362, 339, 383.
 Gazette, Savannah, 339.
 Georgia Assembly Address to the King, 338.
 Georgia Association, 345.
 Georgia Assembly, Resolutions by, 337, 342, 345.
 Georgia Assembly, Association of Non-importation by, 345.
 Georgia Council of Safety, Resolutions by, 351.
 Georgia Council of Safety, Address of, 351.
 Georgia Temporary Constitution, 350.
 General Meeting, Georgia Resolutions, 339.
 Gwinnett, Button, 96.
 Hall, Isaac, 342.
 Hall, John, 342.
 Hall, Lyman, Esq., 96.
 Houston, John, Esq., 339, 340, 345.
 Jones, Noble Wimberly, Esq., 338, 339, 340, 345.
 Judton, Paul, 342.
 King, Thomas, 342.
 Langworthy, Edward, 362.
 Liberty Boys, 66.
 McClelland, Samuel, 342.
 McClelland, John, 342.
 McCullugh, Seth, 342.
 McCullugh, William, 342.
 McCullugh, John, Sr., 342.
 McCullugh, John, Jr., 342.
 McDonald, Charles, 342.
 McIntosh, John, 342.
 McIntosh, L., 342.
 Merchants and Traders Meeting, Resolutions by, 333.
 Milledge, Capt., 66.
 Moore, Jiles, 342.
 Newsum, Jones, 342.
 Pannell, Lieut., 353.
 Pendleton, Nathaniel, Esq., 369.
 Pierce, William, Esq., 369.
 Powell, Capt., 66.
 Provincial Congress Resolutions, 347, 348.
 Roberts, Daniel, Esq., 352.
 Roland, John, Esq., 342.
 Sallens, Peter, Esq., 342.
 Savannah, Ga., Meeting and Resolves, 346.
 Shuttleworth, Pr., 342.
 Shuttleworth, Reu., 342.
 Stamp Act, 66.
 Stephen's History of Ga., 66.
 Stobe, Joseph, Esq., 342.
 Telfair, Edward, 340, 362.
 Threadcraft, George, 342.
 Tybee Island, 66.
 Walton, George, Esq., 96, 339, 353, 369.
 Walton, Lieut., 353.
 Walton, John, 362.
 Wells, Andrew Elton, 340.
 Wreart, John, 352.
 Witherspoon, John, 342.
 Witherspoon, John, Jr., 342.
 Wright, Sir James, Royal Governor, 66, 311.
 Wyly, Mr., Speaker House of Commons, 66, 337.
 Young, William, Esq., 340.
- MARYLAND.
- Alexander, Robt., Esq., 256, 257.
 Annapolis, 119, 247, 252.
 Anne Arundell Co. Resolutions, 249.
 Baltimore Co. Resolutions, 52, 248.
 Baltimore, Lord, 52.
 Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, 95, 247.
 Carroll, Daniel, Esq., 362, 369, 383.
 Caroline Co. Resolutions, 251.
 Charles Co. Resolutions, 251.
 Chase, Samuel, Esq., 84, 95, 247, 256, 364.
 Chestertown Resolutions, 244.
 Dick, Mr., merchant, Annapolis, 244.
 Dickinson, Charles, 251.
 Duckett, Mr. John, 252.
 Frederick Co. Resolutions, 250.
 Gazette, Md., 49, 50.
 Geddes, (brigantine), 246.
 General Assembly, 50.
 General Assembly Resolutions by, 50.
 Goldsborough, Robert, Esq., 256.
 Green, Mr. Jonas, Editor of Gazette, 49.
 Griffith, Mr. Henry, Frederick Co., 250.
 Hall, Aquilla, Esq., Harford Co., 250.
 Hall, John, Esq., Annapolis, 247, 253.
 Hammond, Matthias, Esq., Annapolis, 247.
 Hanson, John, Esq., 362.
 Harford Co. Resolutions, 250.
 Hood, Zachariah, Esq., 49, 51.
 H—d, Z—h, Esq., 50.
 Instructions to Delegates in Congress, 256.
 Jenifer, Daniel of St. Thomas, Esq., 369, 383.
 Johnson, Herman, 87.
 Johnson, Thomas, Jr., Esq., 76, 84, 247, 256.
 Kent Co. Resolutions, 249.
 McCubbin, Mr., merchant, Annapolis, 244.
 McHenry, James, Esq., 369, 383.
 McMahon, historian, 46, 243, 244.
 McMahon, statement by, in regard to Stamp Act, 46.
 Martin, Luther, Esq., 369.
 Maryland, 46, 243, 354, 362, 366, 369, 383.
 Maryland Convention Resolutions, 252, 258.
 Mercer, John Francis, Esq., 369.
 Paca, William, Esq., 84, 95, 247, 256.
 Queen Anne Co. Resolutions, 248.
 Ridgeley, Capt. Charles, Baltimore Co., 248.
 Rogers, John, Esq., 256.
 Stamp Act, 46.
 Stewart, Mr., merchant, Annapolis, 244.
 Stewart, Mr. W., merchant, Annapolis, 244.
 Stone, Thos. Esq., 95, 256.
 Talbot Co. Meeting, 246.
 Tilghman, Matthew, Esq., 84, 252, 266.
 Wallace, Mr., merchant, Annapolis, 244.
 Worthington, Mr. Brice Beale, Anne Arundell Co., 249.
 Wright, W., Esq., 246.
- MASSACHUSETTS.
- Act for sending beyond sea for trial, 112, 117.
 Adams, John, Esq., 76, 84, 91, 95, 110, 243, 372.
 Adams, Samuel, Esq., 84, 95, 110, 129, 361.
 Address to the People by the Provincial Congress, 128.
 Assembly protests against the Acts of Parliament, 103.
 Barry, historian, 16.
 Bernard, Gov., 291.
 Boston Tea Party, 104.
 Boston Port Bill, 106, 352.
 Bowdoin, James, Esq., 110.
 Brown, Wm., Judge, 120.

Cambridge, Mass., 290.
 Charter of Mass., abolition of, 112, 113.
 Clark, Mr., consignee of tea, Boston, 104.
 Committee of Safety, 129.
 Cumberland Co., 122.
 Cushing, Thomas, Esq., 84, 110, 208.
 Dana, Francis, Esq., 361, 369.
 Extracts from the Port Bill, 107.
 Falmouth, Casco Bay, 122.
 Fanenil Hall, 18, 100.
 Fanenil Hall, Convention Proceedings in, 100.
 Freeman, Sam'l, Esq., 131.
 Gerry, Elbridge, Esq., 95, 129, 361, 364, 369.
 Gorham, Nathaniel, Esq., 369, 383.
 Hall, captain of tea vessel at Boston, 105.
 Hallowell, Mr., 18.
 Hancock, John, Esq., 95, 99, 124, 129, 208, 361.
 Hancock, Ebenezer, Esq., 119.
 Holton, Samuel, Esq., 361.
 Hutchinson, Thomas, Esq., 103, 104.
 Hutchinson, Elisha, Esq., 103, 104.
 Hutchinson, Foster, Esq., Judge, 103, 105, 120.
 Hutchinson, Mr., Chief Justice, 16, 17, 18, 103, 291.
 King, Rufus, Esq., 365, 369, 383.
 Lexington, 130, 316.
 Lincoln, Benj. Esq., 124.
 Lovell, James, Esq., 361.
 Malcolm, John, 109.
 Massachusetts, 7, 10, 16, 96, 354, 361, 367, 369, 383.
 Massachusetts Provincial Congress, 126, 127, 128, 130.
 Massachusetts House of Representatives, Resolutions by, 110.
 Massachusetts House of Representatives authorizes Declaration of Independence, 131.
 Massachusetts declared to be in rebellion, 129.
 Middlesex Co., 121.
 New Plymouth, 130.
 Oliver, Peter, Esq., Chief Justice, 119, 291.
 Oliver, Andrew, Esq., Stamp-distributor, 16, 17, 18.
 Otis, James, Esq., 8, 9, 16.
 Paine, Robert Treat, Esq., 84, 95, 110.
 Revere, Paul, Esq., 137, 139.
 Rotch, owner of vessel that brought tea to Boston, 105.

Ruggles, Mr., 10.
 Salem, Mass., 124.
 Stamp Act in Mass., 16, 17.
 Story, Mr., deputy register, 18.
 Strong, Caleb, Esq., 369.
 Suffolk Co., 74, 121.
 Suffolk Co. Resolutions, 74.
 Temporary government established, 130.
 Vose, Mr., 121.
 Warren, Dr. Joseph, 128.
 Watertown, Mass., 130.
 Woodward, Richard, 121.
 York Co., 124.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen Co. Resolutions, 221.
 Bloomfield, Moses, Esq., 232.
 Burlington Committee, 231.
 Brearley, David, Esq., 368, 383.
 Camp, Caleb, Esq., 230, 231.
 Clark, Abram, Esq., 96, 233, 367, 368.
 Committees of the several Counties' Resolutions, 226.
 Coxe, William, Stamp-distributor, 40.
 Crane, Stephen, Esq., 84, 230.
 Dayton, Jonathan, Esq., 368, 383.
 De Hart, John, Esq., 84, 220.
 Delegates to Continental Congress, 229.
 Essex Co. Grand Jury Address to the Chief Justice, 227, 228.
 Essex Co. Resolutions, 220.
 Fallman, Peter, Esq., 231.
 Field, Richard S., Esq., 37.
 Fisher, Hendrick, Esq., 233.
 Franklin, Gov., 40.
 Frelinghuysen, Mr. Frederick, 233.
 Hart, John, 96, 233.
 Historical Society, 37.
 Hopkinson, Francis, Esq., 96, 233.
 Houston, William Churchill, Esq., 367, 368.
 Hunterdon Co. Resolutions, 223.
 Johnson, Robert, Esq., 232.
 Kearney, Philip, Esq., 39.
 Kinsey, Mr., Delegate to Congress, 84, 230.
 Lawrence, John, Esq., Upper Freehold Co., 232.
 Livingston, Gov. William, 76, 84, 87, 230, 368, 383.
 Lower Freehold Resolutions, 220.
 Middlesex Co. Resolutions, 224.

Monmouth Co. Resolutions, 225.
 Morris Co. Resolutions, 222.
 Mulford, historian, 218.
 Neilson, John, Esq., 368.
 Newark, Committee Resolutions, 229, 231.
 New Jersey, 10, 218, 354, 362, 366, 367, 368, 383.
 New Jersey Assembly Resolutions, 230, 367.
 New Jersey Committee to Boston Committee, 227.
 Ogden, David, Esq., 10, 39.
 Ogden, Robert, Esq., Speaker of Assembly, 10, 40.
 Patterson, William, Esq., 368, 383.
 Potter, Capt. Reuben, 231.
 Schureman, James, Esq., 367.
 Scudder, Nathaniel, 362.
 Smith, William P., 227.
 Smith, Richard, 84, 230.
 Smyth, Frederick, Chief Justice, 38.
 Somerset Co. Committee Resolutions, 233.
 Stamp Act, 37.
 Stockton, Richard, Esq., 96, 233.
 Sussex Co. Resolutions, 225.
 Upper Freehold Resolutions, 232.
 Witherspoon, Dr. John, 96, 233, 362.
 Woodbridge Committee Resolutions 231 232.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Address of Convention to the inhabitants, 141.
 Bartlett, Josiah, Esq., 95, 141, 361.
 Belknap, historian, 19, 134.
 Belknap's history, extract from, 19.
 Castle William and Mary, Portsmouth, 137, 138.
 Claget, Justice, 21.
 Cochran, captain of Castle William and Mary, 137, 138.
 Committee of Portsmouth, 135.
 Cutts, Samuel, Esq., 137, 139, 141.
 Emery, Mr. Noah, 144.
 Epsom Resolves, 139.
 Extract from Gazette, 20.
 Fenton, Col., 139.
 Folsom, Nathaniel, Esq., 84, 140.
 Gilman, Nicholas, Esq., 369, 383.
 Independence authorized, 143.
 Langdon, Capt. John, 137, 140, 369, 372, 383.

- Letter from Committee of Portsmouth, 135.
 Letter from Gov. Wentworth to Gen. Gage, 137.
 Lewis, Peter, Esq., Governor's Counsellor, 132.
 Messerve, Mr., appointed Stamp-distributor, 19, 20.
 New Hampshire, 19, 131, 354, 361, 367, 369, 383.
 Pickering, John, Esq., 141, 369.
 Portsmouth, 134.
 Provincial Convention, 140.
 Stamp Act, 19.
 Sullivan, John, Esq., 84, 137, 140.
 Tappan, Mr. Christopher, 141.
 Thompson, Mr. Ebenezer, 141.
 Trecothick, Barlow, Esq., 20.
 Thornton, Matthew, 95.
 Wentworth, John, Esq., 20, 132, 133, 138, 139, 140, 361.
 Wentworth, Benning, Esq., Gov., 131, 137.
 Weare, Mesheck, Esq., 140.
 West, Benjamin, Esq., 369.
 Whiting, Mr., 137.
 Whipple, Wm., Esq., 95, 141.
- NEW YORK.
- Alsop, John, Esq., 73, 84, 177, 178.
 Association of New York, 193.
 Bache, Theophilus, Esq., 177.
 Bayard, William, 177.
 Beekman, Gerard W., 177.
 Belknap, Mr. Joseph, 192.
 Benson, Egbert, 367.
 Benson, Robert, Esq., 191.
 Blake, Mr. Jonathan, 178.
 Bloomer, Mr. Robert, 183.
 Boerum, Simon, Esq., 75, 84.
 Booth, Benjamin, 177.
 Bowery, the New York, Public Meeting in, 195.
 Brown, George, 177.
 Brown, John, Esq., 196.
 Brookhaven Committee appoints Committee of Observation, 194.
 Brookhaven Committee resolves, 195.
 Broom, John, 177.
 Brosher, Abraham, 177, 196.
 Buli, Joseph, 177.
 Carpenter, Mr. Zeno, 183.
 Clinton, Mr. Chas., 186, 187.
 Colden, Cadwallader, Lt.-Gov., 31, 32, 33, 35, 174, 176, 187, 188.
 Committee of Correspondence, 176, 177.
 Committee, General of N.Y., 190.
 Committee, General, Address to Gov., 190.
 Corporation of New York City, 190.
 Contine, Mr. Matthew, 186.
 Corporation of New York, Address to Gov. Tryon, 191.
 Cross, Mr. Robert, 192.
 Cumberland Co. Committee Resolutions, 194.
 Curtenius, Peter T., 177.
 Dennison, Mr. George, 192.
 Delaney, John, 177.
 Desbrosses, Elias, Esq., 177.
 Destruction of stamps, 37.
 Duane, James, Esq., 84, 173, 361.
 Duer, James, Esq., 177, 361.
 Duryee, Abraham, 177.
 Duyckinck, Gerardus, 177.
 East Hampton Resolutions, 181.
 Elmendorph, Capt. John, 186.
 Floyd, Wm., Esq., 84, 95.
 Fort George, 83.
 Foy, capt. of Fort George, 33.
 Francis, Mr. Samuel, 177.
 Goelet, Peter, 177.
 Halleat, Mr. Joseph, 177, 196.
 Hamilton, Alexander, Esq., 363, 367, 369, 383.
 Hanover Committee Resolves, 186.
 Haring, John, 183.
 Haring, Peter T., 183.
 Hardenbergh, Col. Johannes, 185, 186.
 Hardenbergh, Mr. Johannes G., 186.
 Hasbrouck, Mr. Jacob, Jr., 186.
 Haviland, Ebenezer, 183, 184.
 Herring, John, Esq., 75.
 Hicks, Whitehead, Esq., Mayor of N. Y., 191.
 Hoffman, Nicholas, 177.
 Horstmanden, Chief Justice N. Y., 31.
 Horton, Mr. James, 183.
 Huntington Resolutions, 182.
 Jackson, Mr. William, 186.
 Jamaica Town Meeting Resolutions, 185.
 Jauncey, James, 177.
 Jay, John, Esq., 76, 84, 85, 87, 177, 178, 179.
 Johnston, David, 177.
 Jones, Mr. Gardiner, 183.
 Kemp, Mr., Attorney-general, 32.
 Kings Co., 75.
 Laight, Edward, 177.
 Lansing, John, Jr., Esq., 369.
 Latta, Mr. James, 186.
 Lent, Col. Abram, 183.
 Letter from N. Y. Committee to Boston Committee, 179, 180.
 Lewis, Mr. Francis, 95, 178, 196, 361.
 Lispenard, Mr. Leonard, 177, 196.
 Livingston, Mr. P. V. B., 32, 177, 196.
 Livingston, Robert R., Esq., 8, 9, 32.
 Livingston, Philip, Esq., 32, 84, 76, 85, 95, 177.
 Livingston, William, Esq., 32.
 Lott, Mr. Abram P., 177, 196.
 Low, Isaac, Esq., 84, 177, 178, 181, 194.
 Ludlow, Gabriel H., 177.
 Mabie, Mr. Yost, 183.
 Mandeville, Mr. Francis, 192.
 McAdam, William, 177.
 McDougall, Mr. Alexander, 177, 196.
 McEwers, Mr., Stamp-distributor, 32.
 McEvers, Charles, 177.
 Marston, Thomas, 177.
 Meeting, Windsor Resolutions, 192.
 Miller, Mr. Eleazer, 181.
 Moore, Sir Henry, Gov., 33, 35, 36, 37, 175.
 Moore, John, 177.
 Morris, Gouverneur, 361.
 Morris, Lewis, 95.
 Newkirk, Mr. Jacob, 186.
 New York, 30, 174, 354, 361, 366, 367, 369, 383.
 N. Y. Assembly appoints Committee of Correspondence, 195.
 Nicholl, Charles, 177.
 O'Callaghan, N. Y. historical collector, 174, 192.
 Orange Town Resolutions, 182.
 Outwater, Mr. Thomas, 183.
 Palatine Resolutions, 184.
 Parks, Mr. Arthur, 186.
 Pearsall, Thomas, 177.
 Randall, Thomas, Capt., 177, 196.
 Remson, Henry, 177.
 Rye Resolutions, 183.
 Sears, Isaac, Esq., 174, 177, 196.
 Seizure of ordnance by the people, 191.
 Shaw, Charles, Esq., 177.
 Sharpe, Richard, 177.
 Sherbrook, Miles, 177.
 Shutts, Nuoc, 192.
 Smith, Mr. William, 181.
 Smith, Mr. Hendrick, 186.
 Sons of Liberty, 16.
 South Haven Resolutions, 181.

Speech of Isaac Low, 178.
Stamp Act, 174.
Thomas, Mr. John, Jr., 183.
Thomas, Mr. Samuel.
Thompson, Samuel, 195.
Thurman, John, 177.
Trimble, Alexander, 186.
Tryon, Gov., 175, 176, 190, 192.
Tryon to Dartmouth, 175.
Tryon retreats to British man-of-war, 191.
Ulster Co. Meeting, 185.
Ulster Co. Meeting Resolutions, 185.
Van Horn, David, 177.
Van Schaach, Mr. Peter, 177, 178.
Van Zandt, Mr. Jacobus, 177, 196.
Wallace, Alexander, 177.
Walton, Abraham, 177.
Walton, William, 177.
Westchester Co. Resolutions, 184.
White, Mr. Hezekiah, 192.
Wicker, Mr. Thomas.
Wisner, Henry, Esq., 73, 84.
Wood, Israel, Esq., 182.
Woodhull, John, 195.
Wyncoop, Mr. Adrian, 186.
Yates, Richard, 177.
Yates, Robert, Esq., 369.
Young, Hamilton, 177.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Alamance Creek, 62.
Alston, William, Esq., Halifax, 294.
Alexander, Abraham, Mecklenberg, 316.
Alexander, Adam, Esq., Mecklenberg, 315.
Alexander, Robert, Esq., Mecklenberg, 302.
Alexander, John McKnitt, Esq., Mecklenberg, 316.
Ancrum, John, Esq., 293.
Anson Co., 296, 301.
Ashe, Samuel, Esq., 293.
Ash, John, Esq., 57, 58.
Association of Ladies, 307.
Bath, N. C., 302.
Benbury, Thomas, 301.
Beaufort Co., 301.
Bertie Co., 301, 309.
Bladen Co. 301.
Blount, Wm., Esq., 368, 383.
Bradford, John, 294.
Brevard, Eph., Esq., 314.
Brearley, David, Esq.
Bright, Simon, Esq., 301.
Brown, William, Esq., 302.
Brunswick Co., 57, 301.
Bryan, Needham, Esq., 301.
Campbell, John, Esq., 301.
Campbell, Farquard, Esq., 301.
Cape Fear, 57, 295.

Carteret Co., 301.
Caswell, Richard, 73, 84, 301, 305, 306, 308, 309, 315.
Charlotte, N. C., Mecklenberg Co., 311, 315.
Chowan Co., 301.
Clayton, Francis, Esq., 293, 302.
Cogdell, Richard, Esq., 295, 301, 317, 318.
Collett, Capt., 295.
Congress at Hillsborough Resolutions, 318.
Convention at Newbern, 297.
Coor, James, Esq., 301.
Craven Co., 301.
Cumberland Co., 301.
Davis, A., 295.
Davie, William Richardson, Esq., 368.
Davis, James, 310.
Declaration of Mecklenberg (May 20, 1775), 311, 315.
De Rossett, Lewis H., Esq., 295, 300, 301, 309.
Dickson, William, 296, 301.
Diligence, British sloop with stamps, 57.
Dobbs Co., 301.
Duplin Co., 301.
Dry, Wm., Esq., 300, 301.
Edenton, 57, 302, 307.
Edwards, Isaac, Esq., 302.
Everigin, Edward, Esq., 302.
Few, Capt., 62.
Fort Johnston, 295.
Fraser, Jeremiah, Tyrrell Co., 302.
Geddy, John, Esq., Halifax, 302.
Gibson, Walter, Esq., Bladen Co., 301.
Granville Co., 60, 301.
Gray, Thomas, Esq., Duplin Co., 301.
Gray, Mr. William, Onslow Co., 302.
Guilford Co., 296.
Hagan, James, Esq., Halifax Co., 294.
Halifax Co. Committee Resolutions, 294, 301.
Halifax Town, 302.
Harvey, John, Esq., Perquimans Co., 302.
Harnett, Corns, 362.
Harvey James, 310.
Harvey, John, Esq., 297, 302, 307.
Hart, Thomas, Esq., Orange Co., 302.
Harvey, Benjamin, Esq., Perquimans Co., 302.
Harvey, Thomas, Esq., Perquimans Co., 302.
Hasell, James, Esq., Newbern, 300, 301, 309.
Hatch, Lemuel, 301.

Haywood, Egbert, Esq., Halifax Co., 294.
Haynes, Thomas, Esq., Halifax, 294.
Haynes, Eaton, Esq., 296.
Hearring, Jonathan, Esq., Pasquotank Co., 309.
Hewes, Joseph, Esq., 73, 84, 96, 302, 305, 308, 315.
Hicks, Thomas, Esq., Duplin Co., 301.
Hillsborough, 61.
Hill, Green, Esq., Bute Co., 301.
Hogg, Robert, Esq., Wilmington, 293.
Hooper, William, Esq., 73, 84, 96, 293, 301, 305, 308, 315.
Houston, James, Esq., Stamp-distributor, 58.
Howard, Martin, appointed Chief Justice, 300, 309.
Howe, Robert, Esq., Wilmington, 293, 301.
Husbands, Herman, Esq., 60.
Hunter, Thomas, Esq., Chowan Co., 301.
Hunt, Memucan, Esq., Granville Co., 301.
Hunter, Mr., 296.
Hyde Co., 301.
Jarvis, Samuel, Esq., Currituck Co., 301.
Jenkins, David, Esq., Tryon Co., 302.
Johnston, Samuel, Esq., Chowan Co., 301, 318.
Johnson, Samuel, Esq., 306.
Johnston Co., 301.
Jones, Frederick, Esq., Wilmington, 293.
Jones, William, Esq., Halifax, 294.
Jones, Thomas, Esq., Chowan Co., 301.
Jones, Allen, Esq., Northhampton, 302.
Jones, Joseph, Esq., Pasquotank Co., 302.
Jones, Willie, Esq., 301, 368.
Journals of Assembly, 309.
Kenan, James, Esq., Duplin, 301.
Kennon, William, Esq., Rowan Co., 302.
Knox, Andrew, Esq., Perquimans Co., 297, 302.
Latham, Rothias, Esq., Hyde Co., 301.
Leech, Joseph, Esq., Craven Co., 301.
Long, Nicholas, Esq., Halifax Co., 294, 301.
MacLain, Archibald, Esq., Wilmington, 293.
Macknight, Thomas, Esq., Currituck Co., 297.
McCulloch, Benjamin, Esq., Halifax, 294.

- McKinney, William, Esq., Dobbs Co., 301.
 McCulloch, Alexander, Esq., 309.
 McGuire, Thomas, Esq.
 Martin, historian, 7, 55, 57, 59.
 Martin, Josiah, Esq., Gov., 295, 300, 301, 308, 309, 314.
 Martin, Alex., Esq., 368.
 Mecklenberg Co. Resolves (of May 31, 1775), 301, 311, 314, 315.
 Mercury, Cape Fear, 314, 315.
 Meeting of the Inhabitants, 57.
 Miller, Mr. Andrew, merchant, Halifax, 294, 295.
 Miller, George, Esq., Dobbs Co., 301.
 Moore, Col. James, Wilmington, 293.
 Nash, Abner, Esq., 302.
 Newbern, 57, 295, 297, 302.
 New Hanover Co., 57, 301.
 Newbern Committee, 317, 318.
 Newbern Committee Resolutions, 317.
 North Carolina, 56, 291, 354, 362, 367, 368, 383.
 North Carolina Convention, 301.
 N. C. Provincial Congress, Resolutions of, for Independence, 320.
 Northampton Co. Committee, 296, 302.
 Oldham, Thomas, Esq., Chowan Co., 301.
 Onslow County, 302.
 Ormond, Roger, Esq., Beaufort Co., 301.
 Pasquotank Co., 302, 309.
 Patton, Benjamin, Esq., Mecklenberg Co., 301.
 Penn, John, 96, 362.
 Person, General Thomas, 60, 301.
 Person, William, Esq., Bute Co., 301.
 Perkins, Solomon, Esq., Currituck Co., 301.
 Perquimans Co., 297, 302.
 Pitt Co., 302.
 Polk, Col. Thomas.
 Proclamation, a, 300, 308, 309, 314.
 Privy Council, 299, 300.
 Quince, Parker, 299.
 Raleigh Register, 311, 315.
 Randolph Co., 60.
 Rayner, Nathan, Esq., Currituck Co., 301.
 Reading, Joseph, Esq., Pasquotank Co., 302.
 Regulation War, 58.
 Respass, Thomas, Jr., Esq., Beaufort Co., 301.
 Rowan Co., 302.
 Rutherford, John, Esq., 301, 309.
 Rutherford, Thomas, Esq., Cumberland Co., 301.
 Salter, William, Esq., Bladen Co., 301.
 Salter, Edward, Esq., Pitt Co., 302.
 Sampson, John, Esq., Newbern, 300, 301.
 Simpson, John, Esq., Pitt Co., 302.
 Smith, Samuel, Esq., Hyde Co., 301.
 Smythwick, Edmund, Esq., Martin Co., 301.
 Spaight, Richard Dobbs, Esq., 368, 383.
 Spencer, Mr. Samuel, 301.
 Spruill, Joseph, Esq., Tyrrell Co., 302.
 Stamp Act, 56.
 Stanley, Mr. David, Bertie Co., 309.
 Strudwick, Samuel, Esq., 309.
 Sumner, David, 294.
 Taylor, Rev. Charles Edward, 293.
 Thomas, William, Esq., Anson Co., 301.
 Thomas, William, Esq., Carteret Co.
 Thompson, William, 301.
 Tryon, Gov., 57, 60, 61, 291.
 Tryon Co. Association, 302, 317.
 Tyrrell Co., 302.
 Waddell Col., 57.
 Warwick, Mr. Anthony, 296.
 Weldon, Samuel, Esq., Halifax, 294.
 Whedbee, John, Jr., Perquimans Co., 302.
 Williams, John, 362.
 Wilmington, 298, 299, 302.
 Williamson, Dr. Hugh, 59, 292, 364, 368, 383.
 Wilmington Resolutions, 293.
 Williams, Joseph John, Esq., Halifax, 294.
 Williams, Benjamin, Esq., Johnston Co., 301.
 Winslow, Moses, Esq., Rowan Co., 302.
 Wilmington District Association, 57, 319.
 Wilmington Committee, Letter from, 297.
 Young, Samuel, Esq., Rowan Co., 302.
- Assembly Resolutions, 41, 204, 212, 213.
 Assembly authorizes Independence, 216, 217.
 Assembly Protest, 199.
 Biddle, Edward, Esq., 84, 205.
 Bradford, William, Esq., 44.
 Bucks Co. Resolutions, 206, 209.
 Carlisle, letter from, 209.
 Chapman, Mr. John, 206.
 Cheney, Mr. Richard, 206.
 Chester Co., 201.
 Chester Co. Committee, 206, 210.
 Chester Co. Resolutions, 201, 210.
 Clingan, William, 362.
 Clymer, George, 96, 368, 383.
 Convention approves proceedings of Continental Congress, 205.
 Cox, John, Esq., 44.
 Coxe, Tench, Esq., 367.
 Dickinson, John, Esq., 10, 44, 80, 84, 87, 201, 205.
 Donaldson, Joseph, 208.
 Dowdle, Michael, 208.
 Dovel, William, Esq., 44.
 Duché, Rev. Mr., 73.
 Eichelberger, George, 208.
 Fitzsimmons, Thomas, Esq., 363, 368, 383.
 Franklin, Dr. Benjamin, 43, 46, 87, 91, 96, 213, 214, 337, 338, 368, 383.
 Frazer, Mr., Chester Co., 206.
 Friend, Capt., 44.
 Fuvin, George, 208.
 Galloway, Joseph, Esq., 84, 197.
 Gordon, historian, 197.
 Greenow, Mr., Chester Co., 206.
 Grier, David, 208.
 Hart, Joseph, Esq., Buck's Co., 206, 210.
 Hartley, Thomas, 208.
 Hartley, David, 214.
 Hay, John, 208.
 Hockley, Mr., Chester Co., 206.
 Hughes, John, stamp master, 42, 43, 45, 46.
 Humphreys, Chas. 84, 205.
 Ingersoll, Jared, 368, 383.
 Johnston, Mr. Francis, Chester Co., 206, 211.
 Kean, Mr., 365.
 Kidd, Mr. John, Bucks Co., 210.
 Kirkbride, Mr. Joseph, Bucks Co., 210.
 Lancaster Co. Resolutions, 200.
 Leedom, Mr. Richard, Bucks Co.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Address to John Hancock and Thomas Cushing, 207.
 Allen, William, Esq., 44.
 Allen, Mr., Cumberland Co., 197.

- Lloyd, Mr., 206.
 McCall, Archibald, 44.
 Meeting of Mechanics, Resolutions of, 200.
 Mifflin, Thomas, Esq., 84, 205, 368, 383.
 Morris, Robert, Esq., 44, 96, 362, 368, 383.
 Morton, John, Esq., 84, 96, 205.
 Moore, Mr., Chester Co., 206.
 Morris, Gouverneur, Esq., 368, 383.
 Muhlenberg, Frederick A., Esq., Speaker, 372.
 Northampton Co. Resolutions, 202.
 Pennsylvania, 10, 41, 196, 354, 362, 366, 367, 368, 383.
 Penn, William, Esq., 234.
 Pennsylvania Convention, 202, 205.
 Pennsylvania Convention Resolutions, 203.
 Pettit, Mr., 365.
 Petition to the King, 197.
 Philadelphia Resolutions, 201.
 Presbyterians, 43.
 Reed, Joseph, 362, 364.
 Reel, Peter, 208.
 Richards, William, 44.
 Roberdeau, Daniel, 362.
 Ross, Geo. Esq., 73, 84, 96.
 Rush, Benjamin, 96.
 Schmyser, Michael, 208.
 Smith, Jonathan. Bayard, 362.
 Smith, James, 96, 208.
 Spangler, Balzard, 208.
 Stamp Act, 41.
 Swope, Michael, 208.
 Taylor, Mr. George, Chester Co., 96, 202, 206.
 Thompson, Mr. Charles, 44, 45.
 Tilghman, James, Esq., 44, 45.
 Wallace, Mr. James, Bucks Co., 210.
 Wayne, Anthony, Esq., 210.
 Westmoreland Co. Meeting of Inhabitants, 211.
 Westmorland Co. Meeting, Resolutions by, 211.
 Wilson, James, 96, 368, 383.
 Willing, T. Esq., 201.
 Wyncoop, William, 210.
 Yorktown Committee, 206.
 York Co. Committee letter to Gov., 208.
- RHODE ISLAND.**
 Angell, James, Esq., 165.
 Arnold, historian, 21, 24, 162, 164, 172.
 Assembly, General, Resolutions, 21, 163, 165, 169, 171, 363.
 Bowen, Ephraim, 24.
 Bradford, William, Esq., 169.
 Briggs, Aaron, Esq., 162.
 British Sloop Cygnet, 23.
 Brown, Moses, Esq., 23.
 Brown, John, Esq., 162.
 Charter of R. I., 23.
 Collins, John, 361.
 Daughters of Liberty, 24.
 Ellery, William, 95, 361.
 Fort George, 22.
 Gaspee Point, 162.
 Gazette, Providence, 21.
 Gorton, Othniel, Esq., 23.
 Green, Benjamin, Esq., 23.
 Greene, Nathaniel, Gen., 169, 174.
 Hazzard, George, 23.
 Hall, William, Esq., 23.
 Hopkins, Stephen, Esq., Chief Justice, 84, 95, 161, 163.
 Howard, Martin, Jr., 21.
 Jenckes, Daniel, Esq., 23.
 Johnston, Augustus, Esq., 21.
 Katy, armed vessel, 172.
 Leslir, captain of Cygnet, 22.
 Letter from New York, 167.
 Letter to Speaker of Assembly, 169.
 Marchant, Henry, 361.
 Mawney, Dr. John, 162.
 Moffat, Dr., 21.
 Newport, 23.
 Newport Committee to Philadelphia Committee, 168.
 Nitingale, Samuel, Esq., 164.
 Providence Town Meeting, 166.
 Providence Town Meeting Resolutions, 163, 164.
 Randall, Joseph, 23.
 Rhode Island, 160, 354, 361, 363, 367.
 Sabin, Mr. James, 162.
 Sons of Liberty, 24.
 Stamp Act, 21.
 Wanton, Gideon, Gov., 22, 161, 163, 172.
 Wanton, Joseph, Gov., 22, 161, 163, 172.
 Ward, Samuel, Gov., 22, 24.
 Ward, Henry, Esq., 23, 166, 170, 172.
 Ward, Samuel, Esq., 22.
 Washington, armed vessel, 172.
 Whipple, Capt. Abraham, 162, 172.
- SOUTH CAROLINA.**
 Ashley River, 64.
 Association, 332, 334.
 Boone, Gov., 62.
 Bradley, Mr. Samuel, 330.
 Bull, Lieut. Gov., 62.
 Butler, Pierce, Esq., 360, 383.
 Campbell, Lord Wm., 333.
 Cannon, Daniel, Esq., 64.
 Cantey, Samuel, 330.
 Cantey, John, 330.
 Carter, Robert, 330.
 Cassells, Henry, 330.
 Cattell, Mr., 326.
 Charleston, 62.
 Cheraw, 328.
 Christ Church Parish, 326.
 Coffity, Thomas, 330.
 Constitution agreed upon, 335.
 Conyers, James, 330.
 Dart, Mr., 321.
 Davis, Mr. James.
 Dealey, John, 332.
 Drayton, Mr. historian, 68, 326, 331.
 Drayton, William Henry, judge, 328, 352.
 Duke, Edward, 330.
 Dunn, Sylvester, Esq., 330.
 Elliott, Mr., 321.
 English, Joshua, 330.
 Extracts of letters, 322, 325.
 Frierson, Aaron, Esq., 330.
 Gadsden, Christopher, Esq., 8, 9, 63, 85, 321, 324, 325, 327.
 Gamble, John, 330.
 Gazette, 311, 327.
 General Meeting, Charleston, Resolutions, 322, 323.
 General Order of General Washington, 336.
 Gordon, Moses, 330.
 Grand Jury Presentment, 329.
 Heyward, Thomas, Jr., 96, 362.
 Heywood, Mr., 326.
 Hunter, Henry, Esq., 330.
 Hutson, Richard, 362.
 James' Island, 64.
 Johnson, Fort, Charleston, 63, 64.
 Lamboll's Bridge, 64.
 Lasley, Capt., 333.
 Laurens, Henry, Esq., 321, 332, 362.
 Lloyd, Mr., 321.
 Lloyd, commandant Fort Johnson, 64.
 Lynch, Thomas, Esq., 9, 63, 85, 96, 321, 324, 326, 327.
 Martin, Loughlin, 332, 333.
 Matthews, John, 362.
 Middleton, Arthur, 96.
 Middleton, Henry, Esq., 85, 324, 326, 327.
 Montague, Gov., 321.
 Moore, Isham, 330.
 Neilson, David, 330.
 Non-consumption of tea, 327.
 Parsons, Mr., 321.
 Payn, John, Esq., 330.

- Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, Esq., 321, 365, 369, 333.
 Pinckney, Charles, Esq., 365, 369, 383.
 Powell, Col. George G., 326.
 Provincial Congress, 330, 334.
 Provincial Congress, Address to Gov., 333, 334.
 Provincial Congress Resolutions, 331, 334.
 Rutledge, John, Esq., 9, 63, 76, 85, 87, 324, 326, 327, 369, 383.
 Rutledge, Edward, Esq., 9, 76, 85, 96, 321, 324, 326, 327.
 Singleton, Matthew, 330.
 South Carolina, 62, 321, 354, 362, 369, 383.
 S. C. Assembly Resolves, 326.
 Smith, Rev. Robert, 332.
 St. Philip's Church, 332.
 St. John's, Colleton Co., 326.
 Stamp Act, 63, 65.
 Styles' Plantation, 64.
 Sutton, Jasper, Esq., 330.
 Timothy, Peter, Esq., 334.
 Weyman, Edward, Esq., 64.
 Williamson, Wm., Esq., 64.
 Wilson, David, 330.
 Witherspoon, John, Esq., 330.
- VIRGINIA.**
- Accomack Co. Resolutions, 282.
 Adams, Thomas., 362.
 Adams, Richard, Esq., 274.
 Albemarle Co. Resolutions, 281.
 Alexander, John, Esq., 280.
 Allen, Mr. Isham, 268.
 Anderson, Benjamin Esq., Hanover Co., 288.
 Assembly, General, Resolutions, 368.
 Augusta Co. Resolutions, 284, 290.
 Aylett, William, Esq., 288.
 Balmain, Rev. Alex., 284.
 Banister, John, 362.
 Berkeley, Nelson, 288.
 Blair, John, 368, 383.
 Bland, Richard, Esq., 84, 261.
 Botetourt, Gov., 259, 260.
 Bowyer, Mr. Michael, 284.
 Bradford, John, Esq.
 Braxton, Carter, Esq., 96, 288.
 Bright, Mr. Robert, 280.
 Broadwater, Charles, 279.
 Buckingham Co. Resolutions, 284.
 Burgesses, House of, 258, 261.
 Burgesses, House of, Resolutions of, 258.
- Bukey, historian, 10, 55, 261.
 Carrington, Paul, 55.
 Cary, Archibald, Esq., 261.
 Carr, Dabney, Esq., 261.
 Carter, Charles, Esq., 280.
 Caroline Co. Resolutions, 273.
 Chesterfield Co. Resolutions, 272.
 Charlottesville, 287.
 Cocke, Allen, Esq., Surry Co., 276.
 Cranch, William, Esq., 288.
 Culpepper Co. Resolutions, 268.
 Dabney, George Jr., 288.
 Davis, A., Esq., Halifax.
 Delegates, House of, Resolutions by, proposing General Convention, 366.
 Diggs, Dudley, Esq., 261, 276.
 Dinwiddie Co. Resolutions, 275.
 Doncastle's Ordinary, 289.
 Dumfries, 287.
 Dunmore Co. Resolutions, 264.
 Dunmore, Lord.
 Duvall, Samuel, Esq., 274.
 Essex Co. Resolutions, 269.
 Elizabeth City Co. Resolutions, 280.
 Fairfax Co. Resolutions, 277.
 Fauquier Co. Resolutions, 269, 286.
 Fredericksburg, 269.
 Giberne, Rev. Isaac W., 266.
 Gilmer, Lieut. George, 288.
 Gloucester Co. Resolutions, 272.
 Grayson, Capt. William, 286, 287.
 Greenwood, John, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 Hanover Co. Committee, 288.
 Harrison, Robert, Esq., Halifax Co., 277.
 Harrison, Benjamin, Esq., 84, 91, 92, 96, 261.
 Harvey, John, 362.
 Harvey, William, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 Henrico Co., Instructions to Delegates, 274.
 Henry, James, Esq., Accomack, 282.
 Henry, Patrick, 15, 23, 53, 54, 55, 76, 84, 261, 289, 368.
 Henry's Resolutions in H. of Burgesses, 54.
 Henry's Speech on Stamp Act, 55.
 Hubbard, James, Esq., Gloucester Co., 273.
 Hutchings, Joseph, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
- Inglis, Samuel, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 James City Co. Resolutions, 268.
 Jamieson, Neil, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 Jefferson, Thomas, Esq., 53, 55, 87, 91, 96, 261, 364.
 Jones, Walter, 366.
 King William Co., 288.
 King, Henry, Esq., Elizabeth City, 280.
 Lawson, Anthony, Esq., 283.
 Lee, Francis Lightfoot, 96, 362.
 Lee, Philip R. F., Esq., 287.
 Lee, Richard Henry, Esq., 72, 76, 84, 85, 91, 96, 261, 362.
 Lewis, Mr. Thomas, Augusta Co., 284.
 Lewis, Mr. William, Augusta Co., 284.
 Lewis, Capt. Charles, 288.
 Love, Alexander, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 Loyall, Paul, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 McClenachan, Capt. Alexander, Augusta Co., 284.
 McClurg, James, Esq., 284.
 McDowell, Capt. Samuel, Augusta Co., 284.
 McRobert, Rev. Archibald, 272.
 Madison, James, Jr., Esq., 363, 366, 367, 368, 383.
 Marks, Jno., 2d Lieut., 288.
 Mason, George, Esq., 366, 368.
 Matthews, Mr. Sampson, Augusta Co., 284.
 Matthews, Capt. George, Augusta Co., 284.
 Mercer, George, Esq., 55, 56.
 Mercer, Hugh, Esq., Fredericksburg, 266, 287.
 Middlesex Co. Resolutions, 274.
 Monroe, James, 365.
 Morris, Richard, Esq., Hanover, 288.
 Nansemond Co. Resolutions, 270.
 Nelson, Thomas, Jr., York Co., 96, 276.
 New Kent Co., 271, 289.
 New Kent Co. Resolutions, 271.
 Newton, Thomas, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 Nicholas, Robert Carter, 261, 289.
 Norfolk, Letter of Citizens to People of Charleston, 262.
 Overton, Samuel, Esq., Hanover, 288.
 Pendleton, Henry, 268.

- Pendleton, Edmund, Esq., 84, 261, 291.
 Pendleton, John, Esq., Hanover, 288.
 Powell, John, Esq., Accomack, 283.
 Prince William Co. Resolutions, 263.
 Prince George Co. Resolutions, 267.
 Princess Anne Co. Resolutions, 283.
 Ransdell, Wharton, Esq., 269.
 Randolph, Peyton, Esq., 84, 261, 337.
 Randolph, Edmund, Esq., 366, 367, 368.
 Reed, Joseph, Esq., 290.
 Richmond Resolutions, 266.
 Robinson, John, Esq., 288.
 Ronald, William, 366.
 Ross, David, 366.
 Skelton, Merriwether, Esq., Hanover Co., 288.
 Skinner, Alexander, Esq., Norfolk, 263.
 Smith, Merriwether, 366.
 Spotswood, Alexander, 287.
 Spotsylvania Co. Resolutions, 266.
 Stafford Co. Resolutions, 279.
 Stamp Act, 53.
 Surry Co. Resolutions, 276.
 Syme, John, Esq., Hanover Co., 288.
 Tithes paid in tobacco, 53.
 Tucker, St. George, Esq., 366, 367.
 Upshaw, John, Esq., 269.
 Virginia, 53, 354, 362, 367, 368, 383.
 Virginia Convention, 285, 291.
 Washington, George, Esq., 84, 277, 279, 287, 290, 368, 371, 372, 383, 386.
 Weldon, Mr. G., 287.
 Westmoreland Co. Resolutions, 265.
 Willis, Mr. John, 287.
 Wirt, William, Esq., 53.
 Woodstock, 264.
 Wythe, George, Esq., 96, 368.
 York Co. Resolutions, 276.
- GREAT BRITAIN.**
- Act of Parliament, 35th Henry VIII., A.D. 1543, 69, 342.
 Act abolishing the charter of Massachusetts, 113.
 Act sending criminals beyond sea for trial, 112, 117.
 Ascough, captain of British ship Swan.
- Address of the two Houses of Parliament to the King, 68.
 Address of House of Commons to the King, 70.
 Barre, Col., Member of Parliament, 24, 59.
 Bedford, Duke of, 68.
 Beaver, British schooner, 161, 163.
 Blackstone, Sir William, 329.
 Boston Port Bill, 106.
 Buckinghamshire, Earl of, 96.
 Burke, Edmund.
 Bute, Earl of, 17.
 Campbell, Lord William.
 Charles I., 55.
 Child, Sir Josiah, 3.
 Chambers, captain of ship London, 176.
 Commons, House of, 3.
 Commons, House of, Resolutions, 3, 71.
 Conway, General, 13, 32, 36, 40, 41.
 Cromwell, Oliver.
 Davenant, 3.
 Dartmouth, Earl of, 35, 71, 72, 175, 190, 191, 311.
 Duddington, lieutenant of British schooner Beaver, 161, 162.
 Fanshaw, captain of British ship Speedwell, 66.
 Gaspee, British schooner, 161, 163.
 Germain, Lord George, 70.
 Grafton, the Duke of, 3.
 Graves, Vice-Admiral.
 Grenville, Lord, 12, 13, 17.
 Halifax, Earl of, 15, 16, 31.
 Hannah, British sloop, 162.
 Hazzard's Register, 41.
 Hillsborough, Earl of, 174, 197, 321, 338.
 House of Lords, Report of, on the Colonies, 96.
 King George III., 10, 306.
 King George III., Speech of, 101.
 King William and Queen Mary, 304-337.
 Liberty, British armed sloop, 161.
 Lindsey, Capt. Benjamin, British sloop Hannah, 162.
 Linzee, captain of the Beaver, 163.
 Lords, House of, 67, 70.
 Lords, House of, Resolutions, 67.
 Lords of Trade, 30, 32.
 Lords of Trade, Address to the King, 31.
 Lords of the Treasury, 13.
 Lockwood, Captain, 176.
 Lockyer, captain of East India Company ship, 176.
- Mansfield, Lord, 3, 4.
 Montague, Admiral, 161.
 New Castle, Duke of, 13.
 North, Lord, 299.
 Parliament, British, 258.
 Pitt, William, Esq., Speech of, 12.
 Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 12, 16.
 Pownall, John, Esq., Secretary to Board of Trade, 72.
 Reid, Capt. William, British ship Liberty, 161.
 Revenue Act, 219.
 Revenue Act, Repeal of, 219.
 Revolutionary Provincial Governments, 120.
 Rose, British ship, 167, 172.
 Speaker elected, 372.
 State Paper Office, London, 311.
 Stamp Act, 7, 9, 13, 15, 16.
 Swan, British ship, 172.
 Townsend, Charles, 59.
 Wallace, captain of the British ship Rose, 167, 172.
- MISCELLANEOUS.**
- Address to the people of Great Britain, 85, 90.
 Amendments to the Constitution, 384.
 Allen, Col. Ethan, 157.
 Articles of Confederation, 354.
 Archives, American, 146.
 Bancroft, Historian, 7, 10, 311, 321, 322.
 Beginning of the end, 72.
 Colonial Documents, 39.
 Colonies, movements of, 96.
 Committee to consider Independence Resolutions, 91.
 Committees of Correspondence, 261.
 Congress of 1774, 72.
 Congress of 1775, 87.
 Constitution of the United States reported, 369.
 Constitution ratified by the States, 371.
 Constitution, text of, 373.
 Congress, Continental, 7, 242.
 Continental Congress recommends Colonies to form governments, 242.
 Convention to frame the Constitution, 369.
 Congress of Confederation, 364.
 Congress of Confederation, Resolutions by, 365.
 Declaration of Rights, 11, 76.
 Declaration of Independence, 92.

- Declaration of causes for taking up arms, 87, 88.
 Dumas, M., France, 214.
 Dummer, Mr., 8.
 Election of President and Vice President, 372.
 Fletcher, tyranny of, 29.
 Gage, Gen., 9, 23, 40, 137, 138, 139, 232.
 General Convention at Annapolis, Resolutions by, 367.
 Goodloe, Daniel R., title-page.
 Hickey's Constitution, 354.
 Inaugural Speech of Washington, 386.
 Independence, Resolutions of Richard Henry Lee, 91.
 Independence Resolutions, consideration of, 91.
 Introduction, 3.
 Jackson, William, 383.
 King William III., 3.
 Liberty Tree, 17.
 McCall, Archibald, Esq., 44.
 Non-consumption Association, 80.
 Non-exportation Association, 80.
 Non-importation Association, 80.
 Paine's, Thomas, Common Sense, 215.
 Petition to the King, 90.
 President *pro tempore* of the Senate elected, 372.
 Priestly, Dr. Joseph, 213.
 "Prior Documents," 41.
 Proceedings of Continental Congress, 72.
 Republic. Birth of the, 7.
 Resolutions of Continental Congress, 72, 74, 75, 76.
 Revolution, English, 3.
 Reply of Congress to King's Proclamation, 90.
 Reply of Lords to King's Speech, 101.
 Richards, Wm. P., 44.
 Rules of Proceedings. Continental Congress, 72.
 Signers of the Declaration of Independence.
 Signers of the Articles of Confederation.
 Slave Trade Discontinued, 82.
 Slaves not to be imported, 82.
 Smith, Richard, Esq., Continental Congress.
 Speech of Congress to Six Nations, 90.
 Standing army.
 Superior court.
 Talbot, Mr., 3.
 Thompson, Chas., 241, 242.
 Tories, 296.
 Vox Populi, 21.
 Warner, Seth, 157.
 Chapter I., 7.
 Chapter II., 67.
 Chapter III., 72.
 Chapter IV., 96.
 Chapter V., 120.
 Chapter VI., 321.
 Chapter VII., 337.
 Chapter VIII., 353,



RETURN TO the circulation desk of any
University of California Library
or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station
University of California
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS
2-month loans may be renewed by calling
(415) 642-6753

1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books
to NRLF

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days
prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

JUL 23 1991

79102		E211
Goodloe, D.R.		G6
The birth of the re-		
public.		

Goodloe, D.R.

E211
G6

79102

